

DET NORSKE
FOLK

PAA LAND OG SIØ

AF

H. T. Sørensen - Malmer

DET NORSKE FOLK

PAA LAND OG SJØ

NORGES POLITISKE OG MILITÆRE HISTORIE
FRA HARALD HAARFAGRE TIL 1814

AF

W. COUCHERON-AAMOT.

MED 100 ILLUSTRATIONER, 27 PLANCHER OG 5 KARTER



CHRISTIANIA
DET NORSKE AKTIEFORLAG
1901

THE NORWEGIAN PEOPLE ON LAND AND SEA

THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF NORWAY
FROM HARALD HAARFAGRE TO 1814

BY

W. COUCHERON-AAMOT

WITH 400 ILLUSTRATIONS, 27 PLANCHES, AND 5 MAPS



CHRISTIANIA

DET NORSKE AKTIEFORLAG
1901

English translation by Hans H. Coucheron-Aamot
2018

Til

Alle dem, der fand sin Dø
i Kamp mod hver, som tredubrod
paa elskte Fædrejorden.

Til

Alle dem, der hjælper til,
at Norge atter finde vil
sin gamle Hads i Norden.

To

*All those who found their death
in battle with whoever broke the
peace against our beloved
fatherland.*

To

*All those who lend a hand to see
that Norway once again finds
its old place in the North.*



H. Toucheron-Rauol

To all of Norwegian descent, wherever they may be today on land or sea!

There is a God, who rules over everything and everybody – a providence that never halts a nation's path through history until it has fulfilled its destiny.

Norway's history is an unshakeable proof of this. It reads like a marvelous tale about the Almighty's protection.

Therefore – when we read this thousand year long saga, beginning when Harald *Haarfagre*¹ founded the kingdom, our love for our wonderful country grows deeper, our hope for the future stronger.

Therefore it was the fairest dream of my youth to one day bring Norway's history to thousands of Norwegian homes.

And when I now after 6 years toil can conclude the first volume of the present work, it is with delight that the dream has been realized and with firm faith that the labor has not been in vain.

Due to the availability of Snorre Sturlason's incomparable *Heimskringla*, I have only found it necessary to give a short outline of Norway's early history. To quote *Heimskringla* – this treasured testimony to our homeland's rank among Europe's oldest kingdoms – at length is no longer necessary, since, thanks to *Storthinget*,² "Snorre" today has an honored place in almost all Norwegian homes.

The exposition of the history of the last several centuries has thereby become clearer and more comprehensive – and this has in the interest of the country, truth, and historical science been shown to be badly needed.

¹ Usually translated as "Fairhair" in English, but literally means "Beautiful Hair." According to his saga, he announced his intention to become king of all Norway and that he would not cut his hair until he had succeeded.

² In 1900, the Norwegian parliament, now spelled *Stortinget*, subsidized the publication of new translations of *Heimskringla* into both Norwegian written forms, *landsmål* and *riksmål*, "in order that the work may achieve wide distribution at a low price".

For it is in this period – which has until now been referred to as "the dark time" – that there are many wholly or half forgotten praiseworthy recollections to light up the scene, much un-historical weed growth – of both domestic and foreign origin – to be cleared away, and many – in my opinion – misguided perceptions to be corrected.

In order to avoid unnecessary discussion with the learned and the unlearned about the justification for the historical view presented in the work, I have included with the text as many facsimiles of the signatures under the most important original documents as the space has allowed.

During the 3 years that have passed since the first installment was published, no historian has appeared in the press with any counter-argument, and since the work has now already reached all classes of society and to most countries where people of Norwegian descent reside, we may assume that this brighter perception of the history of the last several centuries will become the accepted view.

There may, of course, be divided opinions about the format of the work and the more or less detailed treatment of different events and individuals, and such has appeared in several newspapers.

But, since writing the work and the related site visits, travel, and living expenses in this country and abroad has cost me many times more than the honorarium I requested for the work – and since I have not received any stipends from the Norwegian state or other public funds – one may find it reasonable that I have only taken into account such considerations as the interest of our homeland, my own conscience, and the translation into foreign languages dictate.

A more or less detailed account of events and individuals also is given relative to the importance they ought to have in peoples' minds. This is also generally true for the size of the illustrations.

It is common practice to furnish both scientific and popular works with footnotes and references. I have not followed this practice.

I have not included footnotes since, in the first place, I find them distracting when reading, and secondly, because either the footnotes contain less important information – and then they can be omitted – or the information is very important, but then it should be included in the text.¹

References are omitted because references to the large number of unpublished documents on which this historical work is built, would have given the actual text

¹ The footnotes shown are the translator's, not the author's.

a very modest place and increased the volume required by the subscription plan¹. As for *printed* original documents and secondary sources, I have on completion of the work added a list of most of the sources used and also more detailed information about the illustrations.

That I have been able to carry out this weighty work so early in life – the best time to work! – is due to my publisher of many years, Georg Kristian Parmann. For that he shall have my heartfelt thanks. Also for his sympathetic guidance and warm interest during the progress of the work, and not least for the unusually costly print edition in which *Det norske Folk paa Land og Sjø* has been published – a quality for which *Det norske Aktieforslag* also has given me *carte blanche*.

To the foreign gentlemen and ladies who in diverse ways have assisted me in my historical research I hereby once more offer my heartfelt gratitude.

Among the *Norwegians*, whose professional help deserves a public recognition from the author is the national archivist Henrik Jørgen Huitfeldt-Kaas, who with exquisite patience answered my innumerable questions and lent documents for reproduction.

I also wish to mention Professor Johan Ernst Sars and Lieutenant Colonel Carl Johan Anker.

Næsodden near Christiania 10th of September 1901.

W. Coucheron-Aamot

¹ "*Henvising*" should mean reference, but this sentence makes more sense if W. C-A meant including actual copies or full quotations. "Subscription plan" refers to this work first being published in installments to a circle of subscribers.

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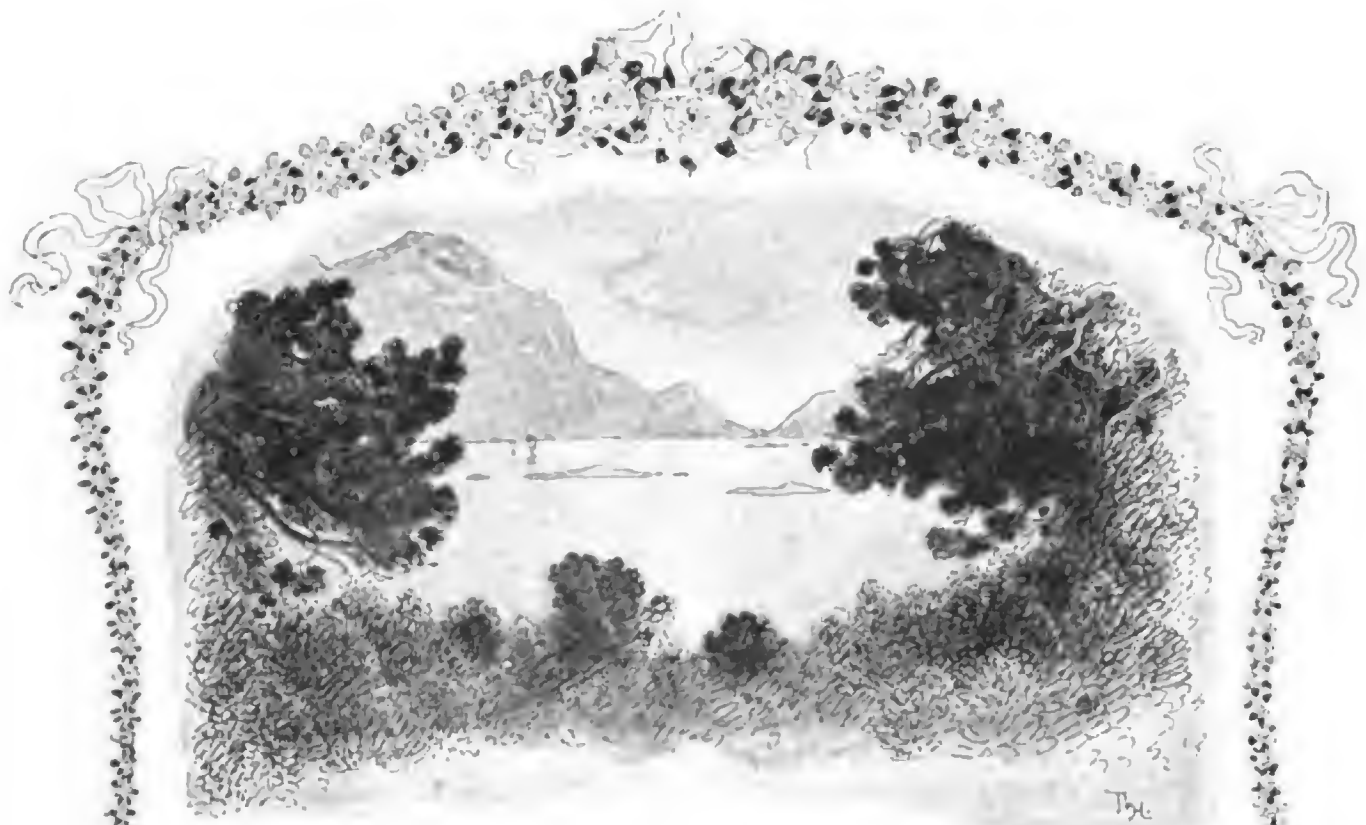
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INTRODUCTION

Norway shone in the sun as never before or since in the time of King Haakon the Old, and our national history has few days that outshines the 29th of July 1247, when the rightful heir to the proudest, freest, and happiest people in medieval Europe was crowned in Bergen's Christchurch by the Roman pope's legate.

King Haakon IV Haakonsson had a lucky assortment of the great characteristics that his ancestors in Harald Haarfagre's royal line had possessed in such rich measure. King Haakon conducted his entire reign in an impeccable manner – and therefore he also won the love and loyalty of the Norwegian people to a greater extent than any other Norwegian king.

Conscious of having the whole nation with him, King Haakon always acted with force and authority when needed to uphold the kingdom's honor and standing among the neighboring countries.

Leading the largest fleets of warships that have ever sailed from our fjords, he reminded the Danes, Swedes, and Scots that the Norwegians had retained more than their sagas from their heroic times of national glory.

Therefore Norway and the Norwegian people were held in respect and, if one were to judge by appearances, the Norwegian ship of state ought to have continued on its confident course while Danes and Swedes fell behind in its wake – but the contrary happened.

For the luster of the Norwegian kingdom did not come from the clear rays of the breaking day that could awaken the people's energy and venturesome spirit to a more active life, but rather the warm glow of the evening sun after a bright and cloudless day.

Only 150 years after Haakon Haakonsson's coronation – the last rays died away. The dark shadows of night settled in over the people and the realm, and like a mastless wreck all of the Norwegian possessions were swept into the fateful harbor of the Kalmar Union by a Danish queen. After a remarkably rich historic life the Norwegian nation sank into a tranquil sleep.

But now the Norwegian people have again awakened – and inspired by a deep-felt desire to raise their fatherland up to its old place among the northern countries.

An extensive knowledge of Norway's national and military history therefore is important for the march forward to the goal. We will endeavor to add our contribution – and begin this modest work with a short explanation of the reasons for the decline in Norway's standing after the death of King Haakon IV Haakonsson. We will begin in the time of Harald Haarfagre and in broad strokes describe the national development of the Norwegian people up until the Union with Sweden in 1814.

The historical events in our wars on land and sea from 1600 to 1814 have, in our opinion, a significant meaning for the national renaissance. These events will therefore take up most of the space in the present work.





HARALD HAARFAGRE MONUMENT IN HAUGESUND.

Chapter One

NORWAY'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT FROM HARALD HAARFAGRE TO HAAKON IV HAAKONSSON.

Before Harald Haarfagre gathered Norway into one state, the country was divided into 28 *fylker*.¹ In most of these independent domains a king was acknowledged as the highest authority, but the powers of these "*fylke* kings" were always quite limited and to a great extent dependent on their personal qualities.

The king's main responsibility was to lead the men of the *fylke* in defense against attack from outside forces or in offensive forays voted by the commonalty. The civil government, on the other hand, was reserved for the *herse*.

The office of *herse* was the most important institution in the old *fylke* government. A *herse* was in both religious and secular regards the hereditary chieftain of the farmers within his *herred*.² His position was completely independent of the *fylke* king and he paid no taxes. Nor did he have to follow the king in war, except to defend the county when attacked.

¹ *Fylke* today means county, and the modern counties roughly follow the boundaries of the old petty kingdoms and tribal areas.

² *Herred* or *herad* – today an administrative division within a county – a commune or "township."

Therefore the powerful *herse* Kveldulf could reply, when King Audbjørn in Firdafylke, who had made an alliance with the king on Møre, demanded that he come along for the final battle with King Harald Haarfagre: "The King has a right to demand that I go with him when Firdafylke is under attack, but I am not obliged to travel with him north to Møre to defend the land of the people there."



HARALD HAARFAGRE

The authority that the *herse* exercised within his *herred* was patriarchal and did not require any royal affirmation. It was an *inheritable* right that the people had once and for all time granted to his family.

However, the *herse's* power was to a great extent dependent on the *haulder*, or freeholders under allodial law, who also paid no taxes – to either the king or the *herse*.

The freehold farmers together with the *herse* formed an alliance of ruling families whose power was based on inherited rights and established reputation.

The most numerous class of the people were tenant farmers. They were less esteemed than the freeholders, but were in all respects free men and exercised their rights to vote at the *herred*- and *fylke things*, where all laws were debated and judgments passed.

This was roughly the Norwegian order of society when Harald Haarfagre announced his intention to join all the *fylke* into *one* nation under *one* king.

It says itself that the firmly established *fylke* aristocracies would be greatly opposed to the idea of union, and the sagas tell us that it was only a few leaders who voluntarily allied themselves to Harald in the hope of receiving large fiefs. The unification of Norway therefore came to look a lot like a war of conquest. By his superior martial skills Harald defeated all the *fylke* kings, and after the Battle of Hafrsfjord no one could offer him any organized armed resistance.



P. T. MALLINGS BOGHANDELS FORLAG

THE BATTLE OF



HJALMAR JOHNSEN DEL.
HAFRSFJORD

Our first sole ruler intended to establish an *unrestricted autocracy*. He installed a *jarl* (earl) who was to exercise the judicial and lawgiving authority on the king's behalf in each *fylke*. The *herses* had to relinquish their positions as the people's hereditary leaders and become the king's appointed officials. In addition, Harald claimed all the *odel* (allodial land) in the country – i.e., suzerain ownership of all landed property and the rights to all rents or taxes derived from it.

In short, Harald Haarfagre's intent was to *concentrate all government powers in the person of the King and exclude the people from all influence over state affairs*.

In other words, the Norwegian state was to belong to the sole ruler of the kingdom with the same rights as the freehold farmers before had to their farms.

Fortunately, Harald did not manage to carry out this plan, since, if he had, all cultural development would probably have been stopped before it could begin.

The *fylke* aristocrats' moral standing and influence over the people was still too strong and the state he had founded too weak. It was therefore in the king's interest to seek the allegiance of the most influential men who did not stand in absolute uncompromising opposition to him. The saga states that Harald sought out *herses* and the most influential *bønder*¹ and gave them a choice between becoming his servants and leaving the country. If they chose to stay where they were, he would usually grant them substantial concessions and estates.

The king could well afford to act generously, since there regrettably were many who chose to leave the country. It is estimated that around 400 *herse* and *bønder* with their households and adherents emigrated just to Iceland. Harald took possession of all lands and other property these people left behind with the right of conquest.

The gathering of all Norway into one kingdom was very important for the Norwegian people's future. If Harald Haarfagre had not created a Norwegian kingdom alongside the already formed Danish and Swedish kingdoms, one Norwegian *fylke* after the other would presumably have been annexed by the neighboring states. – But the great loss that the nation suffered by the heavy emigration by strong and vigorous leading families could not be made up.

Harald met the most determined resistance in southwestern Norway. Not until the rest of Norway had been conquered² did he venture to confront the combined

¹ *Bonde*, plural *bønder*, (surviving in English in the word husband from *husbonde* – "master of the house") in Norwegian means something like freehold farmer or yeoman. The word is pre-Indo-European and probably originally referred to the settled farming population present in Scandinavia when the Old Norse arrived during the Migration Period 200 – 600 A.D. The Old Norse always referred to themselves as *mannr* – men. Reading Snorre, it is apparent that the Old Norse – the "Vikings" – formed a more or less distinct caste of warriors and a ruling class by right of conquest, but in the process of being absorbed into the much more numerous native population – the *bønder*. Today, *bonde* properly only refers to self-owning farmers and the general term for farmer is *gårdbruker* – "farm user."

² This is an exaggeration. Harald never ventured north of Møre and never fully controlled the Oslofjord area ("Viken").

forces from Hordaland, Rogaland, and Agder. The Battle of Hafrsfjord was the major battle of his entire campaign of conquest and is seen as the major turning point in the history of Norway.

Therefore, it was also in Hordaland, Rogaland, and Agder that the old aristocracy got the roughest treatment.

Members of most of the ruling families in these counties had earlier won possessions across the North Sea in Ireland and the Scottish Islands. When Harald was victorious, almost all the remaining members of the ruling families also moved across the sea, and the spiritual force and culture that the three southwestern counties then lost left voids that have hardly been filled in yet today.

Harald Haarfagre gathered the country into a single kingdom and tried to carry out his plan to gather all governing power in the person of the king to such an extent in opposition to the strongly rooted tradition of local self-government that there had to be a reaction.

This can be seen already in Harald's last years on the throne and in the internecine fighting among his sons. The aristocrats then won back most of their independence – despite the losses Harald had caused in their ranks.

Led by Sigurd Jarl, the *bonde* chieftains ventured to present the youngest of Harald's sons as claimant to the throne against the oldest, whom the autocrat Harald himself had chosen to be his successor.

When Haakon *Adelstensfostre*¹ promised that the farmers would get their *odel* (allodial) rights back, the whole nation rose up in revolt, Erik Bloodaxe had to flee the country, and Haakon became the sole king of Norway.

The unified kingdom founded by Harald remained, but the autocratic form of government was broken for the time being. A compromise between the people and the royal crown was entered into.

The king was acknowledged by law as the highest executive authority in the state, but the lawgiving and judicial authority was returned to the people and its leaders.

Thus the kingdom got a constitutional foundation and ceased standing in the people's consciousness as a mere autarchy.

The royal power thus for the time being had to make a significant concession – while at the same time it was acknowledged as *a state power in parallel with the people*.

In order for the crown to again find opportunity to expand its powers, certain prerequisites were necessary which the introduction of Christianity later would provide, since the people's self-government through their local leaders was closely connected with their pagan religion.

¹ King Harald sent his youngest son, Haakon, to King Athelstan, the first king of England, to be brought up – "fostered." Since Haakon was born to one of Harald's servant girls, some historians think this was a gibe at Athelstan, marking him as Harald's inferior. Others say to the contrary, Harald thought Haakon had potential as a future king and sent him to King Athelstan, who already was known to have several young princes from around Europe in his care for their education and to be tutored in statecraft.

Haakon the Good tried to plant the cross on Norwegian soil, but he owed his throne to the local magnates, and since these did not want to hear of the new faith, the king had to give it up.

Half a century later the case for Christianity was taken up again by Olaf Trygvasson. He had more freedom to act, since he depended only on his luck and superior abilities.

During his entire short reign Olaf pursued his goal with all the means to his disposal, but when he to the Norwegians' great sorrow died a hero's death in the Battle of Svolder, his life's work had not been completed though the old faith in the *æsir*¹ had lost its foothold.

Fifteen years later, Olaf Haraldsson once again raised the banner of the cross – and re-established the unification and independence of the realm, which had been lost at the Battle of Svolder. This program was fully successful, but Olaf had to pay for the victory with his martyr's death at Stiklestad in 1030 A.D.

The unity of the kingdom, or at least the national independence, again seemed to be lost after Olaf's death, but the ease with which Harald Haarfagre's work was re-established under Olaf's son, Magnus the Good, testifies to the secure foothold that the idea of a *national kingdom* now had won.

The religious imprimatur, which the kingship had lacked as long as the pagan faith dominated, it now got in full measure through the elevation of St. Olaf to sainthood. The position of the king now became so strong that the old leading families' claim to independence had to be abandoned and the inclination for accepting local rule under *foreign supremacy*, which the aristocracy had exhibited on several occasions, no longer dared to openly show itself.

The interests of the leading families now had to give way to consideration for the harmony of the nation and national independence.

The conversion to Christianity was an absolute condition for the Norwegians' continued participation in the European cultural development. However, much of the old national culture had to be broken down to make room for the new social



OLAF TRYGGVASSON

¹ The Old Norse pantheon of gods, Odin, Thor, etc.

order based on the new religion. The triumph of Christianity therefore became a defeat for those who had been the mainstays of the old culture.



STIKLESTAD.

Harald Haarfagre had tried to subvert the people's freedom and local autonomy by depriving the freehold farmers of their hereditary leaders and appointing royal officials in their place. The chieftains who submitted to his autocratic rule and agreed to become the king's servants got landed estates in fief and were called *liegemen*.

After Harald died this new class of the *bonde* aristocracy acted not only as the king's primary supporters, but also as his state councilors and the wardens of underage kings. They had thus regained their old influence in the governing of the state. This was because the *liegemen* continued to come from *the leaders of the people* – despite their positions as servants of the crown. For a long time to come their standing in society was still dependent on the influence they could win as head of the family that from time out of mind had led the religious ceremonies and judicial functions in their *herred* or local community.



OLAF TRYGGVASSON'S



P. T. MALLINGS BOGHANDELS FORLAG

ARRIVAL IN NORWAY

This class of royal officials thus became just a new branch of the old *herse* and *haukd* aristocracy that had developed in the era of paganism and *viking* raids.

It therefore naturally followed that the elevation of Christianity to state religion would diminish the power of the *bonde* leaders, since they now ceased to be temple guardians – and thus their position as keepers and enforcers of the law, since the old religion and the secular social order had been closely linked to each other.

It still took a long time before the liegemen's diminished influence with the common people became noticeable. The aristocrats and the most influential *bonde* families had for many generations become interwoven through friendship and marriage connections, and these strong bonds could not be so easily broken.

However, as the strength of the crown increased over time, the luster of the liegemen's offices rose with it, but the social distance between the liegemen and the *bønder* became greater – and then the great men soon were made to feel that they no longer enjoyed the same trust among the people as in former days.

The triumph of Christianity also influenced the aristocracy by ending the Viking Age. During pagan times it had been common for the sons of the great men to sail out on *viking* raids.

It was a hard and barbaric school, but the *viking* life also developed some traits that had significance for the national character. The Norwegians learned to stick together, and their strong individualism often came to show itself from its best side. Loyalty man to man and faithful fulfillment of agreements voluntarily entered into – every page of the Viking Age sagas testify to this.

When the *viking* raids ceased, it might be thought that the sense of fellowship within the nation would be weakened due to the scattered settlement of the country, and that the separate leading families' penchant for personal autonomy



OLAF HARALDSSON

would lead them to withdraw and live isolated in their home communities without worrying about anything but their own immediate material interests.

However, in the first century after the adoption of Christianity there were no traces of any such effects from the cessation of the *viking* raids – quite the contrary.

This was because the nation's excessive urge to action and war like tendencies got a new and larger field to express itself.



FRIDTJOV SAILS OUT ON A VIKING EXPEDITION

The affirmation of the crown through the death of St. Olaf made it possible for his successors to act more forcefully with respect to the outside world. Before, it had been Norway that was exposed to assaults from its neighbors. Now the Norwegians were not only able to repel all foreign incursions, but could emphatically inform Danes and Swedes that *the Norwegian nation now was the militarily superior force in Scandinavia.*



THE BATTLE OF LYRSKOG HEDE.

Magnus the Good also inherited the kingdom of Denmark at the death of Hardeknut¹ and brilliantly defended both kingdoms against domestic and foreign enemies. By the victory over the Wends² on Lyrskog Hede he may have saved the Danish nation from defeat and extinction, and in the battles with the rebellious earl Svend Estridsson he was always the victor, though of course, the Danish people's sympathies were with Svend.

¹ *Harthacnut*, son of Canute the Great and Emma of Normandy.

² *Wends* is a historical name for the West Slavs living near Germanic settlement areas.



DANISH COIN FROM THE TIME
OF KING MAGNUS THE GOOD.

On his deathbed Magnus bequeathed the crown of Denmark to Svend Estridsson.

Magnus half-brother, Harald *Hardraade*,¹ did not manage to quash this deathbed testament, but demonstrated the superior fighting spirit of the Norwegians on his numerous forays into Denmark.



FROM THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

However, he could not wrest that kingdom from Svend, and in 1064 he reluctantly concluded a peace conceding his claim to Denmark. He then got involved in a plan to conquer England together with the English King Harold II Godwinson's younger brother Tostig.

With 240 warships and many transport vessels Harald – whom foreigners have called "Thunderbolt of the North," sailed across the North Sea and landed on the east coast of England. The town of Scarborough was quickly taken, and after a victory at Holderness, the Norwegian fleet sailed up the Humber River to Ouse.

¹ *Hardråde* – usually translated as "Hard ruler."



**MEMORIAL STONE FOR MAGNUS THE GOOD,
KING OF NORWAY AND DENMARK**

RAISED 1888 IN SKIBELUND KRAT BY THE DENMARK-SCHLESWIG BORDER IN
MEMORIAM OF HIS VICTORY OVER THE WENDS ON LYRSKOG HEDE.

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Near York there was another battle. The Norwegians again were victorious, and the city had to surrender. But the next day – the 25th of September 1066 – King Harald and a part of the army were caught off guard at Stamford Bridge by the English king and his army. Their superiority in forces was too great, and since Harald Hardraade would not return to the ships for help, he fell leading the flower of Norway's fighting men after a brilliant defense.

The English army suffered large losses, and thus the miscarriage of Harald Hardraade's plan made it easier for another man of Norwegian descent to achieve *his* aims, since 20 days later the Battle of Hastings was fought, wherein Duke William of Normandy – descendant of Ragnvald *Mørejarl* – won the English crown.

Under the founder of *Björgvin*, the pious but strong Olaf *Kyrre*, who also built the Nidaros Cathedral,¹ the Norwegians gathered new powers – and his son, Magnus Barefoot, knew how to use them. First he sailed west across the sea and forced all the Scottish islands in under the Norwegian crown. Then he turned toward Sweden, and at the peace settlement the Swedish Princess Margreta brought him Dalsland with her dowry. But the heroic young king was not yet quite satisfied. "To honor and not a long life should kings aspire." The 28 year old Magnus therefore once more headed west over sea, and this time he aimed to *conquer Ireland*.

Moriertak,² who ruled over part of the island, had already earlier acknowledged the Norwegian king's suzerainty and now came to Magnus' assistance. Dublin and Ulster were conquered, and the king was preparing to return to Norway when his active reign was ended in a treacherous ambush on 24 August 1103.



Balduin.

Four years later his son Sigurd went on his famous journey to the Holy Land leading an army of chosen warriors. During his long stay in Palestine he helped King Balduin conquer Sidon and returned to Norway via Constantinople. On all these martial forays the Norwegian kings were accompanied by almost all the able-bodied members of the leading families.

¹ *Björgvin* – Old Norse name for the town of Bergen. *Kyrre* – O.N. "quiet, still." Nidaros – O.N. name for the town of Trondhjem and still used for the cathedral and the archdiocese.

² The Irish king Muirchertach Ua Briain of Munster, who recognised Magnus' control of Dublin.

However, their influence among the people had now diminished and in the meantime the authority of the crown had gained such a strong foothold that any attempt to recover their lost independence would have been fruitless.



DEATH OF MAGNUS BAREFOOT.

The local magnates therefore tried to pull the crown down from its high position and make the king a tool for their own ambitions. *This endeavor by the leading men was the main cause of the civil wars that for a whole century tore at the country's marrow.*



A. BLOCH DEL.

SIGURD JORSALAFARER



P. T. MALLINGS BOKHANDELS FÖRLAG

ENTERS CONSTANTINOPLE

The uncertainty of the royal succession often gave them a plausible pretext for setting up pretenders to the throne under whose banners they could fight for their own ends.

That the aristocracy was not especially interested in seeing the old law of succession followed, was clearly shown by the position of the leading men when Harald *Gille's*¹ son Inge fell fighting his nephew Haakon *Herdebred*² on the ice near Oslo.

According to the law Haakon should have been acknowledged as the new king of Norway, but what happened? At a meeting of the chieftains in Bergen in 1161, the liegemen agreed to proclaim one of their own as rival king, and Magnus, Erling *Skakke's*³ 8 year old son with the daughter of Sigurd Jorsalafarer, was acclaimed king of Norway.

This was a clear violation of the old order of succession, and to elevate this liegeman's kingship in the eyes of the people, the leading men entered into an alliance with the clergy, which now had begun to gain more respect under their able leader, Archbishop Eystein.

In order to get his son Magnus crowned and anointed, Erling had to make great concessions to the clergy, but he knew how attached the people were to the old law of succession, and he decided that the price could never be too high if only his son's right to the throne could get religious sanction, since the coronation would make up for Magnus not being born the son of a king.

The agreement Erling made with the archbishop among other things established that legitimate birth should be a requirement for succession to the throne and also that the realm *hereafter must not be divided* between a deceased king's sons.



THE ARCHBISHOP OF NIDAROS' SEAL.

¹ *Gille* or *gillikristr* – "Servant of Christ."

² *Herdebred* – "broad shoulders."

³ *Skakke* – "askew." Erling's head slanted due to an old neck wound received in a battle against the Arabs in Sicily.

Erling hoped thus to protect his son's throne against attack from any illegitimate royal sons who might still be alive, and since almost all the Norwegian leading men joined in backing Magnus Erlingsson as their king, it appeared that the new dynasty was secure on all fronts.

Magnus became very popular and apparently deserved it. He was in many ways the Old Norse ideal of a king; tall, handsome and strong, a good athlete, and personally brave.

However, this kingship created by the great men and the clergy still fell before a man who seemed to have everything against him – even a large part of the common people – and before a man whose own royal birth was very doubtful



SVERRE SIGURDSSON CROSSING THE MOUNTAINS AT VOSS.

When Sverre Sigurdsson appeared as Magnus Erlingsson's rival in 1177, he demanded the crown as the son of a king according to the old law of succession. He claimed Harald Haarfagre and St. Olaf's crown as opposed to Magnus Erlingsson's – which had been bought with concessions to the ecclesiastical and secular magnates and based on a new and unlawful rule of succession.

Sverre thus got a good foundation to stand on for the fight with Magnus. He came to represent *the developing order of the Norwegian society and the democratic ideals rooted in Christianity.*

He proclaimed at every opportunity the concept that had slowly taken root among the people since St. Olaf's time – that the royal authority derived from God and thus this authority extended into the religious domain. Everything that Magnus Erlings-son had given away to the clergy was "ungodly encroachments on God's law," and therefore the Church should return to the position it had held under St. Olaf. Of course, since Sverre dared to put forward such a conception of the relationship between the crown and the church, he got to feel the full force of the clergy's hate. However, he preferred an open break to a forced compromise, since *this would have led to a partial surrender of the authority which he had claimed for the crown.*

He also knew that in his fight with the clergy, he could count on the people's resentment against the oppressive privileges and entitlements that Magnus Erlingsson had given the clergy.

Sverre undoubtedly was one of the greatest statesmen of his time. With his clear vision he saw that the sense of national cohesion in Norway had developed such that *a strong, independent kingship would be the way of the future.*

However, before the power of the crown could rise to the autocratic level that Harald Haarfagre had attempted earlier, the still significant remnants of the great clans' hereditary authority and influence had to be eliminated.

It fell naturally for Sverre to take this course, since he from his first appearance had been obliged to seek his support among the democratic elements that had followed Haakon Herdebred. He knew that it was impossible to win a majority of the magnates for his cause, since the magnates' interests were tied to Magnus Erlingsson's rule. A fight against Magnus therefore also was a fight with the old hereditary aristocracy.



SVERRE SIGURDSSON.

Therefore we also see that the magnates fought loyally at King Magnus' side until he found the warrior's death at Fimreite in Sogn. By then most of the great clans' fighting men had also been killed, since Sverre appealed to the natural instincts of the low-born *birkebeiner*¹ by promising them that any man who killed a liegeman should himself become a liegeman and any man who killed a member of Magnus' bodyguard (*hird*) should be taken into King Sverre's retinue.

And King Sverre kept his word. At his final victory, many of his most gifted warriors were raised to high official positions and got their share of the rich booty that they had wrested from the fallen magnates.

However, despite their undisputed talents, these newly baked chieftains were not able to fill the place of the old hereditary aristocracy in society. These low-born adventurers had only their weapon skills and their great leader to thank for all they had gained. Thus it was only natural that they came to stand closer to the king than the people, and these rude warriors were also more suited to carry out their commander's orders than to be the representative leaders of a free people.

And, if Sverre made his faithful adherents liegemen and retainers, it was not to be expected that the people would naively let themselves be led by former robbers who had burned their farms and stolen their goods.

Of course, Sverre also readily understood this, but it fit well into his intention to expand the authority of the crown, since the farmers, who now had lost so many of their highly respected traditional leaders and spokesmen, began to turn more to the crown as the only governing power that could protect them against encroachments and lawbreaking by both secular and ecclesiastical magnates.

And Sverre knew how to exploit the new situation. He gave several of his most trustworthy followers extensive authority as lawmen and district administrators. These crown appointed officials were to guide the people in their assigned areas and guard their rights while seeing that the laws were respected and observed. Thus he drew the judicial system and the local administration in under the crown, and *the king's representatives* little by little came to move smoothly into the position that *the people's representatives* – the old freeholder chieftains – had held before. Thus the last remaining part of the hereditary aristocracy's influence was eliminated.

¹ *Birkebeiner* – lit. "birchleg," a derogatory term for a section of King Sverre's followers, who allegedly were so poor they made their shoes from birch bark. Another story says the name comes from the time King Sverre and his band were fighting their way across the mountains at Voss in deep, crusted snow that cut their shins, so they stripped birch bark to use as shin guards.



KING SVERRE SPEAKS TO HIS MEN BEFORE THE BATTLE AT FIMREITE

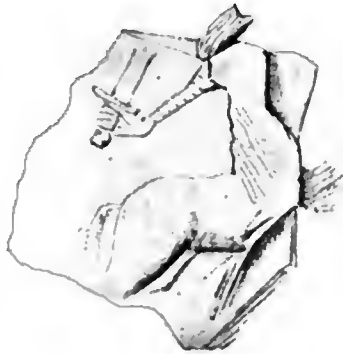
It says itself that Sverre's actions and the new ideas that cut into the old social order with them would create a violent ferment, but under his grandson Haakon Haakonsson's forceful rule, the turmoil got time to settle, and the pernicious consequences of the crowns one-sided elevation at the expense of the people's old local governments did not immediately appear. Quite to the contrary; judging by appearances, the Norwegians had never stood higher than now.

King Haakon loved peace, and the gentle creed of Christ certainly had had a great influence on the hardy sons of Norway, but the feeling of national identity

and warlike strength had not been weakened to any significant extent. This, their neighbors were made to feel.

Haakon used his extensive authority representing the victorious crown with rare wisdom and vigor to bind the wounds of the civil wars and unite the nation's divided forces when needed to uphold the Norwegian kingdom's reputation and rights.

The last military expedition the Norwegians undertook under Haakon's leadership deserves a more detailed account, since it represents a turning point in Norway's political history and marks the end of the Norwegian people's warlike ventures west over sea.

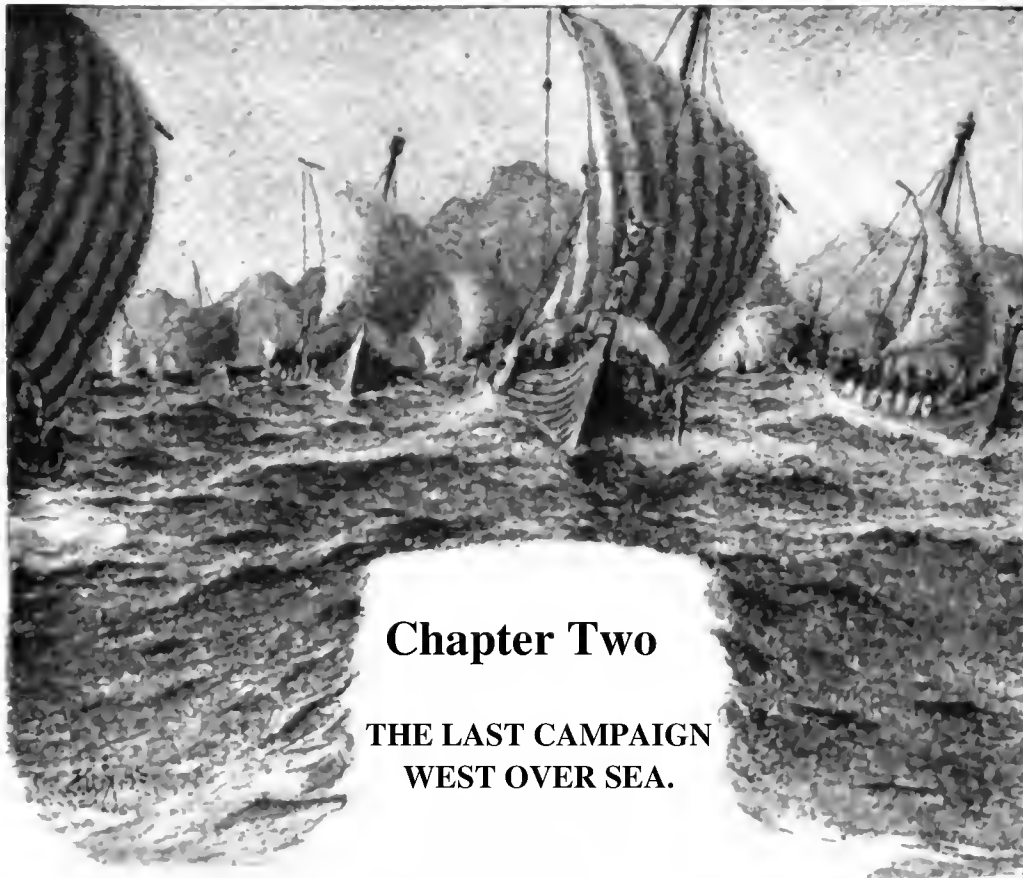


a.



b.

A FRAGMENT OF HAAKON IV HAAKONSSON'S SEAL.



Chapter Two

THE LAST CAMPAIGN WEST OVER SEA.

Harald Haarfagre and Magnus Barefoot's campaigns in the Western Sea¹ had made all the inhabitants in the islands north and west of Scotland acknowledge the suzerainty of the Norwegian king, but during the civil wars communications between Norway and its tributary lands had almost ceased and the links between the Scots and the islanders of Scottish descent had strengthened. The power of the ruling class of Norwegian descent was thus diminished and it was in order to renew and fortify the Norwegian supremacy in these waters that King Haakon in the evening of his life departed from the homeland and all that he held dear.

At that time *Noregsveldi*, or the Kingdom of Norway, consisted of:

- I. *Noregr* [Norway], which comprised all that now lies within Norway's boundaries plus *Ránriki* and *Elfarsysla* (Bohuslän), *Herjárdalr* (Herjedalen), *Jamtaland* (Jämtland), and *Iðri* (Idre), and *Sarnar* (Särna), all now parts of Sweden.

¹ The Scandinavian name for the Baltic is *Østersjøen* – "The Eastern Sea;" The North Sea was "The Western Sea."

II. Dependent territories:

- | | |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Island</i> [Iceland] | 5. <i>Orkneyjar</i> [Orkney Islands] |
| 2. <i>Grænaland</i> [Greenland] | 6. <i>Suðreyjar</i> [The Hebrides] |
| 3. <i>Færeyjar</i> [Faroe Islands] | 7. <i>Mön</i> [Isle of Man] |
| 4. <i>Hjaltland</i> [Shetland Islands] | 8. <i>Satiri</i> [Kintyre] |

plus *Öngulsey*, or Anglesey, which was conquered by Magnus Barefoot. The island is considered part of *Noregsveldi*, though the Norwegian suzerainty did not later have any significance for its inhabitants.

*

In 1237 Olaf Gudrødsson, who had become king over the Isle of Man (*Mön*) and the Hebrides (*Suðreyjar*) with the help of the Norwegians, died. His oldest son Harald was acknowledged by King Haakon as ruler over all the islands his ancestors had ruled under Norwegian overlordship and on a later visit to Norway he was given the king's daughter Cecilia in marriage, but when the bridal pair sailed back to the Hebrides late in the fall of 1248, the ship was lost with no survivors.

At that time a couple of magnates from the Hebrides, Jon Dungadsson and Dufgall Rudersson, who belonged to the islands' old royal family, were staying at King Haakon's court. When Haakon got word of Harald's death, he named Jon Dungadsson king and at once sent him over to the Hebrides to arrange for the defense of the little kingdom in case it was attacked from Scotland.

The king on the Scottish throne at that time was Alexander II – a brave and ambitious prince, who naturally did not like that the Scottish islands stood under Norwegian rule. King Alexander had several times sent envoys to Haakon to negotiate amicably about relinquishing the Hebrides to him, but any proposal that would lead to surrender of any Norwegian lands was destined in advance to be rejected. For King Haakon, honor carried more weight than the material rewards the Scots offered.

When King Alexander understood that the Norwegian king was determined to uphold his ancestors' authority in the Western Sea, he decided to try his luck with armed force and stated that he would not rest until the Norwegians were driven out of Scottish waters. A large army was gathered, and Alexander made ready to sail over to the Hebrides, but then a high fever ended the bold Scottish king's life.

Det norske Folk paa Land og Sjø.



THE NORWEGIAN



KINGDOM IN 1263.

Thus the Scottish plans for conquest were temporarily put on hold, since Alexander's son and successor was only 7 years old, and during his minority, the king's guardians thought it best to let the hostilities rest.

During the 13 years of armistice that now followed, King Haakon tried to settle the state of affairs in the Hebrides and on Man. From fear of being attacked by the Scots, Jon Dungadsson had entered into negotiations with Alexander. He was even said to have promised to put his kingdom under Scottish suzerainty if the hostilities were halted.

Haakon presumably heard of this, since shortly thereafter he also named Dufgall Rudersson king and sent him over to the Hebrides, which now were divided between Jon and Dufgall. This proved to be a less fortunate arrangement as Jon, who realized his position stood on shaky feet, again tried to approach the Scottish government.

In the meantime conflicts had arisen about the command over the Isle of Man.

When report of King Harald Olafsson's ill-fated bridal journey reached the island, his brother Ragnvald had taken over the government, but was killed soon afterwards. A chieftain named Harald then set himself up as ruler over Man, but Haakon would not acknowledge him as king. He may have considered him complicit in the killing of Ragnvald. In any case, Harald was ordered to present himself in Norway and was not permitted to return home.

King Haakon appointed Olaf Gudrødsson's third son Magnus king on Man, and for a short time there were peace and tranquility in the islands.

But then Alexander III came of age, and he took up his father's plans to bring the Hebrides and the Isle of Man in under the Scottish crown.

It was soon reported in Norway that large bands of warriors had sailed over to the Hebrides and carried on like wild heathen. "Even babes in arms were spitted on their spears," says the saga.

King Haakon now realized that the time had come to exchange friendly persuasion for the sword. If Magnus Barefoot's work was not to be wasted, it was necessary to strike a hard blow for supremacy in the western islands. The Norwegians had to show that they still had both the power and the will to protect their possessions against any enemy. King Haakon therefore immediately let *leidang*¹ be proclaimed over the whole country, and the saga does not have any

¹ *Leidang* – Haakon the Good about 955 A.D. divided the coastal districts of Norway into *skipreide*, each of which was required to build, maintain, equip, and man a *longship* (Viking warship) ready to be called out for the national defense.

mention that not everybody obeyed the call to arms with joy. There probably were many sturdy boys from the innermost fjord communities and most isolated back-valleys who had little idea of where the expedition was headed, but they had learned to look up to the august and majestic presence on the throne with unreserved trust and therefore they evidently responded to the call with a firm conviction that the honor and reputation of the motherland required this duty.

Not until late in the spring of 1263, when most of the fleet had assembled in *Bjørgrvin* (Bergen), did the king announce his intent of steering west across the sea to make the Scottish king re-think his itch to take over Norwegian possessions.

His only son Magnus, who later got the nickname "*Lagabøter*,"¹ immediately offered to lead the expedition in his father's place, but the old king had never been in the habit of staying behind. Whenever danger threatened, he had led his people from in front and that he would now do again.

The king said that it was best that he as the oldest and most experienced went with the fleet, but Magnus should lead the government in Norway in his absence.

In early July everything was ready. A mighty fleet of ca. 150 ships lay outside *Herðluver* (Herlevær) with almost all of Norway's leading men of fighting age onboard and 16 to 20,000 of its sturdiest sons. No Norwegian king has led a statelier or more imposing retinue.

On the 5th of July Haakon gave the signal to set sail and in fine weather the fleet headed for Hjalmland (the Shetland Islands). After only two days most of the ships went to anchor in *Breiðeyjarsund* (Bressasound). Haakon stayed here for some time while collecting reliable information about the current situation. Then he sailed south to *Ellidavik* (Elwick) in the Orkneys and from there onward to the Hebrides.

In early August the kings Dufgall and Magnus joined the Norwegians by the island of *Skið* (Skye), and the combined fleet then moved on to *Kjarbarey* (Kerrera) on the north side of *Erguil* (Argyle).

Here Haakon held a war council and sent half a hundred ships under Dufgall and Magnus to the *Satiri* (Kintyre) peninsula. A smaller flotilla sailed to the island of *Bot* (Bute), which the Scots had occupied the year before. King Haakon himself sailed with the main fleet to *Gudey* (Gingha) to await developments.

¹ *Lagabøter* – "Law mender."

It was soon reported that the Norwegians had retaken Bot. Magnus and Dufgall's attack on Satiri also was successful. The Scottish chieftains Murchard and Angus, who ruled on the peninsula, came personally to Haakon and prayed for peace. The king consented to this provided they undertook to defend Satiri against their earlier sovereign Alexander III.



MURCHARD AND ANGUS SWEAR FEALTY TO KING HAAKON.

King Jon from the Hebrides also presented himself here. In the past year he had gone completely over to the Scottish side and had received the Argyle region

as a fief from the Scottish king. Jon's errand with Haakon was not the same as Murchard and Angus'; quite the contrary. He came to openly and honestly terminate his fealty to Haakon and put his fiefs in the Hebrides at the king's disposal.

Meanwhile the Norwegians continued to advance. The fortress at *Rotsay* (Rothesay on the Isle of Bute) had to surrender, and Alexander III now found it best to initiate negotiations for peace. Haakon was not unwilling, provided a peace treaty could be concluded on advantageous and honorable terms.

Jon of Argyle, whom the king had kept onboard in the hope that he again would go in with the Norwegians, now was given his freedom and employed as a go-between. An armistice was agreed, but they could not agree on the peace terms. The Scottish representatives saw to that, since they knew that they soon would have an ally in the autumn storms and so they only sought to stretch out the negotiations.

But King Haakon saw through this and terminated the armistice. The whole fleet was ordered to assemble by *Kumreyjar* (the Cumbrae islands) in the Firth of Clyde. Magnus and Dufgall together with several Scottish chieftains now sailed into *Skipaffjödr* (Loch Long) with 40 ships, and from there made a destructive attack on the Scottish mainland. The smallest vessels were hauled overland to the lake *Lokulofni* (Loch Lomond), whose lovely and fertile shores were harried most frightfully. A few Norwegian raiders are even said to have gotten all the way over to the east side of the mainland.

Meanwhile, the fall storms had begun, and in the night between the 1st and 2nd of October a veritable hurricane blew up. The Norwegian main fleet by the Cumbrae islands was especially exposed to the storm. Some ships had to cut their masts and several lost their anchors and drifted onto shore. One of the wrecks ran into the splendid royal ship "*Kristsuden*" and did so much damage that Haakon had to move over to another ship.

A band of Scottish warriors watched the devastating effects of the storm from the heights above Largs – straight across on the mainland – and we may confidently assume they enjoyed the sight to the fullest.

So far the Norwegians had not met with any serious resistance. The fear of "the black fleet of Norrøyg" seems to have quite enervated the valiant Highlanders, but now the sea had become their ally, and the Scots' courage had presumably risen along with the roar of the storms. Alexander III had now finally

gathered an army, and it was its vanguard who rejoiced at the sight of "the black fleet's" difficult situation.

The shipwrecked crews were greeted with a hailstorm of arrows and had to defend themselves as well as they could until Haakon could send them a relief force. The Scots then retreated and the storm must have subsided a little, since the Norwegians went to work making the stranded ships seaworthy again.

It looks like neither King Haakon nor his captains have thought of the possibility of a large Scottish army being nearby, but so as to not be harassed during the work, Haakon still let a force of about 1,000 men be set ashore. A couple of hundred of these led by Agmund *Krøkedans*¹ went up on the heights to get an overview of the surrounding lands.

But by then the entire Scottish army had arrived to the village of *Largis* (Largs) and now stormed forth with 500 steel-clad knights in the van.

Agmund *Krøkedans* and his men had to take the initial charge, but this small band of course could not resist such a superior force and had to retreat down from the height. The retreat was conducted in good order, but with increased speed down the steep slopes, and to the warriors on the beach it appeared as wild flight. Many lost their wits and rushed into the ships, which thus were overfilled and went under in the strong seas.

Meanwhile the Scottish cavalry had gotten all the way down to the shore, and a number of Norwegians were killed before the leaders could rally their men to fight back, but then began a life or death battle. The storm had intensified again and there was little hope for relief from the fleet. They had to fight to the last man – not for victory, the enemy is too strong – but for their pride in themselves.

The king stands on his ship and looks with crushing sorrow toward land. He knows no fear, but he knows that in this anxious moment his death will mean the downfall of Norwegian hegemony in these regions. He therefore stays onboard at the insistent urging of his captains, but the brave chieftains Eilif of Naustdal and Ragnvald Urka – they are not burdened by this heavy responsibility. With a select group of warriors they get into some small boats. It is uncertain if they will make it to shore through frothing seas and breakers – but it shall not be said in Norway that they did not go to rescue those who are fighting for their lives over there on the beach.

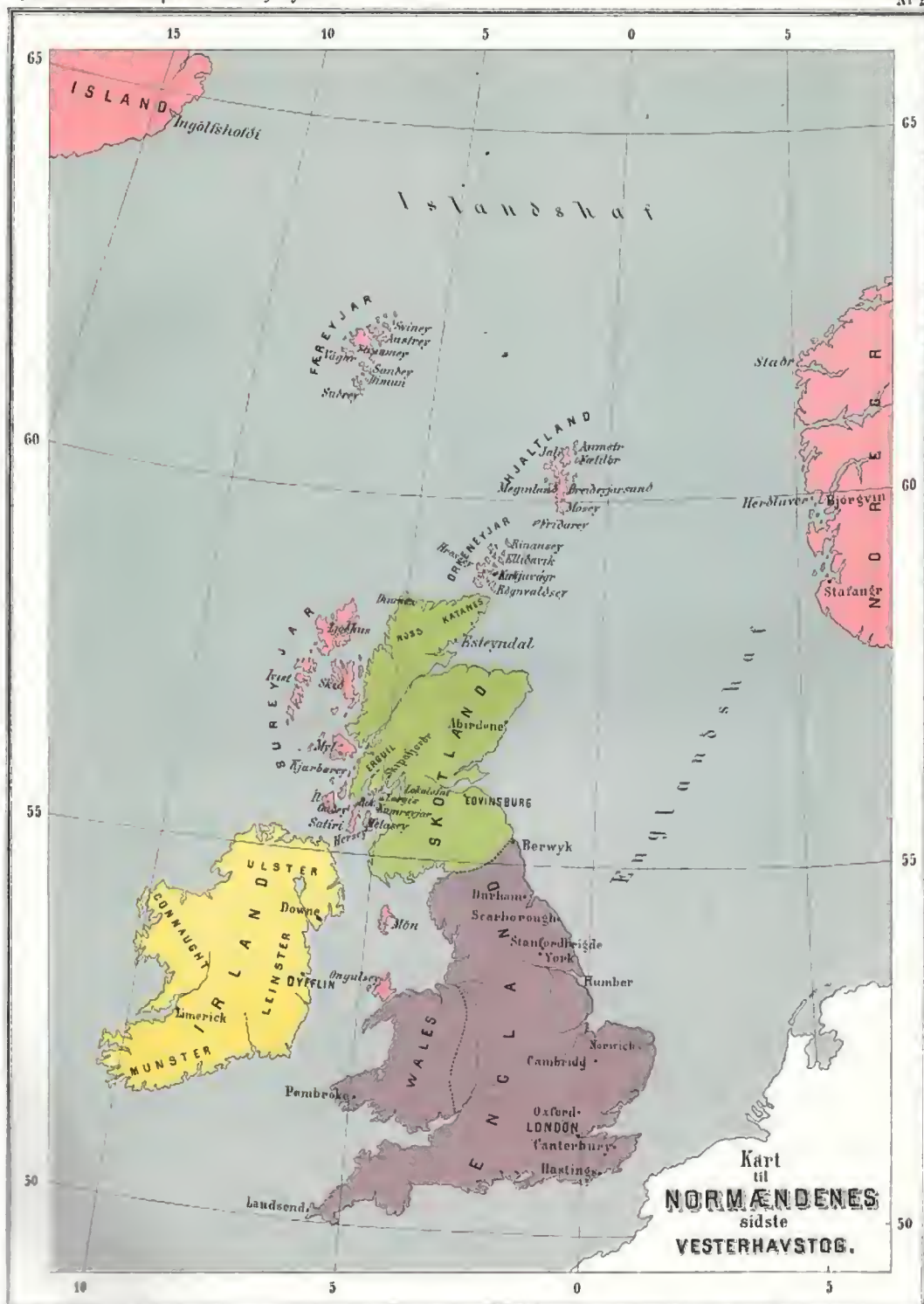
¹ *Krøkedans* "crouch dance;" thought to be a form of folk dance of the time.

Their sacrifice is not in vain. The half-filled boats are cast up on the shore, the warriors jump out with their weapons, and now the course of the battle changed.



EILIF OF NAUSTDAL AND RAGNALD URKA GOES TO AID THEIR COMRADES.

With Eilif leading them, the Norwegians storm ahead again and the Scots give way for this violent onslaught – despite their superiority in numbers, despite their iron-clad knights. Step by step they are forced to retreat up the slopes again and soon the whole beach is cleared of Scots – the Norwegians have kept the battlefield.



THE LAST NORWEGIAN CAMPAIGN WEST OVER SEA.

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Thus ended the bloody battle by the village of Largs on the 3^d of October 1263. It is a day that should be remembered.

The wounded and fallen were brought onboard when the seas had calmed a little. Likewise, all movable gear was removed from the stranded ships and the wrecks burned.

The kings Magnus and Dufgall returned from their successful raid on the Scottish mainland day the after the battle and the combined fleet sailed off to the harbor by *Melasey* (Lamlash on the Isle of Arran), which provided a safer anchorage.

*

Winter was now approaching, and King Haakon decided it was too late in the year to continue the hostilities.

He also had to a large extent achieved the purpose of the campaign. Though Alexander III had not yet been forced to make peace, all of Magnus Barefoot's conquests had been brought back under Norwegian dominion. Haakon therefore let King Magnus sail home to Man and divided the re-conquered possessions among his most deserving chieftains.

During the fleet's stay in Melasey, King Haakon received a request from the Irish magnates to come over and help them against their English oppressors. Haakon is said to have been strongly tempted to respond to the Irish appeal. Perhaps he hoped for an opportunity to tie all of Ireland closer to the Norwegian domain – and thus carry out Magnus Barefoot's great plan.

However, most of his warriors wanted to go back home, and since the campaign had already lasted twice as long as the *leidang* law mandated, most of the ships left to return home.

Haakon himself sailed up to the Orkneys with 20 ships intending to set out for Norway from there, but headwinds and storms prevented him from leaving. He thus was forced to set the ships up on land and overwinter on the islands.

King Haakon firmly intended to resume the war with the Scots when spring arrived, and the history of Norway for the next five centuries would certainly have been different if a renewed attack on Scotland had led to a lasting peace with that kingdom and a closer relationship with the Celtic and Anglo-Norman races. But fate willed otherwise – since Haakon IV Haakonsson's great saga was near its end.

The king had possessed a strong constitution, but his constant labor for the good of the country and its greatness had carried with it many worries and exertions. Now his strength faltered.

Haakon had felt sick already when he arrived in the Orkneys and understood that his end was near. He therefore made arrangements for the government of the country while there still was time. When these important matters had been settled, he went to bed and calmly awaited death.

King Haakon's eventful and heroic career ended in the night of the 15th of December 1263 in the bishop's house in Kirkjuvágr [Kirkwall]. His body was preserved in the St. Magnus Church, but when spring arrived, "*Kristsuden*" was set afloat again and, according to the king's wishes, his corpse was carried to Norway and buried in the Christ Church in Bergen, where he had been crowned 16 years before.

The motherland first and last – the king had been motivated by that principle during his whole reign and therefore the Norwegian people stood mournful and sad around his bier.

Haakon IV Haakonsson's forceful personality and great personal qualities had to an extraordinary extent strengthened the Norwegian people's esteem and respect for the national kingship, which had been personified in such a brilliant manner.





Chapter Three

FROM THE DEATH OF HAAKON IV HAAKONSSON TO THE REFORMATION.

Uhe sun shone on the Norwegian kingdom in Haakon the Old's time, but it was not the clear rays of the rising sun that might awaken the energy and enterprising spirit of the people to a more vigorous life. No – it was more like the warm rays of the setting sun that lulled the nation to sleep after a bright and eventful day. It still took a hundred and fifty years before the national lethargy settled into a deathlike trance. This was because the Norwegian people had not yet been quite reduced to a single underclass.

King Sverre's victory certainly put an end to the political influence the old hereditary aristocracy still possessed, but the establishment of several high state offices at the same time laid the foundation for a new class of *royal servants*, which seemed to have potential for gaining substantial power in the government of the state.

However, this beginning of a lay governing class did not get a chance to develop to any significant extent *because the power of the hereditary crown had already become so strong that no other authority could thrive beside it.*

This is shown by the history after Haakon Haakonsson's death. The governing class, which after Sverre's victory had been augmented with many talented and ambitious men, now got a good opportunity to join together and form an independent body separate from the crown – like their colleagues in the neighboring countries had done. Under Magnus *Lagabøter* ["Lawmender"] the liegemen got more privileges and titles of nobility and during his oldest son Erik's minority and following weak reign almost all of the country's government was in the hands of the barons.



ERIK MAGNUSSON'S SEAL

However, it became apparent that even the most powerful magnates could not make themselves comfortable with the idea of forming a class alliance as a counterweight to the crown's all-encompassing authority.

During Erik's minority the regents acted with both force and in concert – but it was always on behalf of the *crown* and to protect the interests of the *crown*.

Thus the regents fought a tenacious battle with the clergy to take back all the rights and privileges the ecclesiastical estate had won after King Sverre's death. It was this fight that got Erik Magnusson the undeserved nickname "Priest hater."

The king himself was far from an enemy of the clergy; quite to the contrary. As soon as he had taken over the government, his first actions were directed to reconciliation with the church, which also was achieved without major concessions from the crown's side.

The forceful and self-confident behavior of the magnates during Erik Magnusson reign must still have made his brother and successor Haakon V fear that in time they could become dangerous for the crown and resume the role they had played under Magnus Erlingsson.

Haakon was a not unworthy successor to Sverre, and as soon as he had ascended to the throne, he took the preparatory steps to tear the germs of rule by a new aristocracy out by the roots.

First a royal decree deprived the liegemen of their ancient right to govern the realm during the eventual minority of an heir to the throne and established that in future regencies the government should be conducted by a council of 12 men, whom the king could *personally* designate.

In 1308 he took the next step. On the 17th of June – a date to be noted in the history of our country – a second royal decree was issued whereby Haakon V *revoked the titles of earl and liegeman established by Harald Haarfagre*. For the future the title of liegeman would not be granted to anyone and the title of earl would only be borne by royal sons and the earl of the Orkneys, although all living liegemen should keep their titles until they died.

Haakon justified this despotic treatment of the aristocracy "in several liegemen's unlawful acts against the people during his and his brother's minorities." The king further stated that "in the future, anyone who would counsel any young king to permit any secular chieftains in Norway other than those descended from the true royal line should be considered guilty of high treason."

These royal words would make one think that the Norwegian magnates had carried on like German robber barons or Danish peasant harriers in the previous period, but this had in no way been the case, or there would be tales about it. Nor had the Norwegian *bønder* yet become so tame that they would let their toes be stepped on without vengeance.

No, what apparently happened is that Haakon V by Alf Erlingsson's or Audun Hugleiksson's willfulness and defiant attitude toward the crown had come to fear

that the traditions from the liegemen's time of ascendancy should come to life again and lead to checks on the absolute monarchy.

There are reasons to believe that the royal decree of 17 June 1308 should have provoked the most violent opposition from the aristocracy, but *the elimination of the liegeman institution does not seem to have caused the least unrest or turmoil.*

An institution, which through centuries had exerted great influence on the development of Norwegian society disappeared as quietly as if it had been about a change in the ranks of the court officers – and that is the best evidence that the liegemen in the eyes of the nation had played out their role, since they after King Sverre's victory had changed completely from being *representatives of the people* to become the king's servants.

However, it soon became apparent that the liegeman institution even in its period of decline had been a powerful means of holding the nation together. Since there no longer was any gainful objective for the individual magnate's ambition and no tie that bound them together, one old aristocratic family after the other retired to their estates – or sank down into the ranks of the farmers.

The whole nation now began to separate into individual communities that no longer were tied together by common goals or interests.

The farmers totally lost sight of their right to participate in the government of the nation. Since Sverre's time they had become increasingly distanced from public life and quite forgot to think about anything other than their own matériel interests. They were happy to leave all thoughts about the government of the country to the king. They looked to him as their natural protector and the king on his side saw the best source of his power in the people's trust and love.

The autocratic kingship was entirely according to the people's wishes. The freehold farmers sat as securely on their allodial farms as the king in his allodium, which now comprised *the entire Norwegian state*, and the Norwegian people, despite their political powerlessness, probably felt themselves more fortunate than any of the nobility oppressed people of medieval Europe.

But the classless Norwegian society now lacked the minority within the masses that always uphold the nation's individualism and cultural development – after all, the ability to lead is not given to everyone. The Norwegian people now lacked the enterprising forces that are prerequisite for a continued nation life.

It was Norway's vigorous hereditary aristocracy – the old leading families – who had written the rich history of the saga age.

The bearers of the national life now disappeared from the scene, and the crown in the meantime swallowed all the elements from which a new aristocracy could emerge, and the future development of the Norwegian people was closed off for the time being.

By the immutable laws of nature the nation had to fall into decline, and after the forceful ruler Haakon V died, it went rapidly downhill. Norwegian history became more and more inconsequential, and the literature died out altogether.



SCENE FROM THE BLACK DEATH.

Together with the spiritual decline it is also obvious that the country became poorer and poorer. This was partly due to the people's declining energy and enterprise and partly due to the "Black Death," which is thought to have killed more than half of the population. The powerful Hanseatic League towns also monopolized all trade and thus prevented growth of the budding native middle class.

Dulled and divorced from political life, the leveled nation that once had been *the most warlike, the most freedom-loving, and self-governing* in Scandinavia kept only one political sentiment, and this was a touching attachment to the king and his family; only one demand – to be governed by the rightful heir to the crown. And this demand the Norwegians stuck to with a stubbornness that was worthy of a better cause.

The Norwegian people had become a royal allodium whose future fate depended on the owner. If the king was to die without sons and the succession went over to one or another foreign relative to whom the Norwegian people's freedom and independence was an entirely inconsequential matter – then Norway of course would become a helpless wreck, which the lucky finder could treat as he wished and exploit for his own advantage.

Thus no one can be surprised at the role that Norway came to play in the Union of Kalmar and the later federation with Denmark.

No one will be astonished that Christian III – Norway's first "rightful heir to the throne" – dared to state in his coronation charter to the Danish nobility that "since the kingdom of Norway is so impoverished of power and wealth that it cannot sustain a lord and king, it shall hereafter be and remain under the crown of Denmark like any of the other lands, *Jylland, Fyen, Sjælland, and Skaane*,¹ and shall not hereafter be or be called a separate kingdom, but a part of the Danish realm and under the Danish crown forever."

The coronation charter was issued at the meeting of the national assembly in Copenhagen 30 October 1536 – another date to be remembered. What a contrast to St. Olaf's Day in 1247!

History had now given a striking proof that a classless society – a nation of farmers where no one was raised above another – was not able to maintain our sparsely populated country's independence nor bear our culture's continued development.

The event in 1536 urges us to serious reflection. It shows us with all desirable clarity that the nation's growth is not promoted, but rather hindered, by restricting participation in the government of the nation. It also sharply warns us against the current social leveling tendencies. A nation of mediocrities – with regard to both abilities and knowledge – is doomed. A nation *must* have leaders that stand a head

¹ Jutland, Funen, Zealand, and Scania.

above the masses if it is to fill its place in history, and a nation's worth can be determined by its ability to choose its leaders.





Chapter Four

ATTEMPT TO STIFLE THE NORWEGIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY.

As demanded by the Danish nobility, the rightful heir to the Norwegian crown in 1536 gave the death sentence to the Norwegians as a separate nation, and the Danish Privy Council sought to carry out the sentence to the best of their ability.

Norway kept its rank as a separate kingdom, but the 14 fiefs into which the country now was divided, were given to Danish noblemen with only a few exceptions, and the Danish lackeys or scribes who ventured to follow the highborn lords up to the barbaric land of snow and mountains were rewarded with remunerative offices as tax- or customs collectors.

These shiftless Danish office seekers even were appointed as judges and magistrates. They did not understand the Norwegian language very well, but this

difficulty was partially remedied when Magnus *Lagabøter*'s¹ national laws were translated into Danish.

Several of the highest ecclesiastical offices were given to Danish theologians who for one reason or another had found Danish soil to warm for them. The teaching positions at the few public schools likewise were filled with Danes.

Danish books also found their way up to Norway. Among them a couple of the 96 Danish Bibles that Christian III donated to the Norwegians when the Reformation was introduced must be mentioned. The rest were snapped up by Danish pirates.



The pious king probably considered these Bibles a suitable compensation for having given his Danish noblemen permission to rob the Catholic churches and monasteries in Norway of all moveable valuables – in return for the noble brigands looking after his "best interests."

¹ *Lagabøter* – lit. "law-mender." King Magnus promulgated a unified national code of laws based on the old major thing laws in 1274.

We thus see that the Danish nobility, represented by the Danish Privy Council and the king of the united realm, did not lack the will to carry out the program of 1536.

Judging by appearances, Danish mentality and culture would soon rule in all of Norway, and the Danish nobility assumed it as given that the Norwegian nation of *bønder* in time would be entirely assimilated into the Danish social order.

*

However, it turned out that in this farmer folk, from which an Erling Skjalgsson, an Einar Tambarskjælver, and many other of the great men of the saga age had sprung, and to which their descendants had now returned – it turned out that in this leveled society lay hidden forces that would not be denied.

A nation which had such a glorious national history as the Norwegians could not just fade away and die. The hardy sons of the mountains, who so often had looked down on their Nordic neighbors with warlike arrogance, could not be transformed into Danish flatlanders.

The national consciousness seemed to have sunk down to the lowest level at the time of the Reformation – but it was still there.

The dulled national spirit only needed to be shaken awake from its deathlike stupor, and the event that gave the spirit – or perhaps rather the evil spirit – a powerful shake was the restoration of the national military power under Christian IV.





Chapter FIVE

THE NORWEGIAN MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES. DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE RELATIVE TO THE RISE AND FALL IN THE SENSE OF A NATIONAL IDENTITY.

A nation's military capability and its national pride often is very closely related. That the Norwegians in the Middle Ages could think themselves the superior nation in Scandinavia – despite numerical inferiority – came primarily from the country's well-ordered military organization.

Already in 940 A.D. the king and people had adopted a law for general mobilization for both defense and attack – and the basic outlines of the Gulathing *leiðang* law came to stand in force through several centuries.

In the old days Norway was separated from Sweden by wild stretches of forest and roadless mountains. A hostile attack therefore was only likely to come from the sea.

Haakon *Adalstensfoster's* compulsory military service law therefore mainly was directed at establishing a capable naval defense force. All of Norway's coast down to the Gøta River was divided into *skipreiðe*. Each of these districts was to build, equip, man, and provision a longship of a certain size. This arrangement was called *leiðang*. Furthermore, all freeborn men were required to own a shield, spear, and sword or battleaxe.

In addition to the *leiðang* fleet the king kept a few large, well-equipped longships at his own expense, and the liegemen who held royal fiefs considered it both an obligation and a matter of honor to follow the king in war with their own ships. Since these warships probably had from 40 to 60 men crews, the Norwegian fleet must already in the 10th century have counted more than 300 ships with 12 – 14,000 well-armed warriors.

As Norway's population increased and its material development progressed, the ships and crews grew as well. Thus Olaf Tryggvasson's flagship "*Ormen Lange*" ["The Long Serpent"] is said to have had a crew of 500 men.¹



THE GOKSTAD SHIP EXCAVATION.

Medieval Norway reached its zenith or golden age under Haakon the Old, and as mentioned earlier, this powerful ruler – leading the largest fleet of warships ever to leave our fjords – convinced Danes, Swedes, and Scots that the Norwegians had preserved more than their memories from the days of Magnus Barefoot, Magnus the Good, and Sigurd Jorsalafarer.

Among much else, King Haakon made three incursions into Denmark to force King Christopher I to reimburse the losses Norwegian trading ships had suffered from Danish pirates. By the settlement at Gullbergeid in 1252, Christopher had to agree to pay the demanded compensation and pledge the province of Halland as

¹ About half that may be more reasonable. 80 oars would have made it a large ship, and then 2 warriors for each oarsman would have made it rather crowded in battle.

security, but when the Danish king would not fulfill his commitments, Haakon was obliged to declare war.

On his third foray in 1257 Haakon sailed right in to Copenhagen – or *Hafn*, as the city was then called. Though the king according to the law could not call up more than half of the *leiðang* for offensive war, he led a fleet of no less than 315 ships with 20 – 25,000 men.

The sight of this mighty fleet anchored in Copenhagen's harbor gave the Danes a bad fright. King Haakon, who was always ready to negotiate before he drew his sword, gave Christopher six days to decide whether to fight or not. The Danes had sense enough to submit, and a peace treaty was concluded.

The esteem Norway enjoyed in the rest of Europe was resonant with the weight Norway carried among the Nordic countries. The friendship of the Norwegian king was sought by the most powerful rulers. Thus it may be mentioned that the French king St. Louis offered King Haakon the leadership of the French fleet for his crusade against the Saracens, and Pope Innocent IV tried several times to offer him the crown of the Holy Roman Empire after Friedrich II had been excommunicated.

Norway also kept its military superiority among the Nordic countries under Erik *Prestehader* [Priest-hater"] and Haakon V Magnusson though the nation's warlike character as well as its intellectual life was in decided decline.

The Norwegian fleet's reputation for invincibility lasted longer than its reality, and right up to the late 14th century the Norwegians were still considered "dangerous to challenge" – but the veil was to fall away before the end of the century.



SAINT LOUIS.

*

In 1387 Olaf V Haakonsson, who some years before had been elected king of Denmark,¹ died. The grave was closed over the last male descendant of Norway's old royal line – this powerful ruling family which little by little had gathered all official authority under the crown.

The Norwegian state had now lost its only sure support – its center, and the leaderless, disfranchised people stood exposed before the neighboring states in all their nakedness.



OLAF V HAAKONSSON'S
GRAVE MARKER

While the Norwegians had been in steady decline since Haakon Haakonsson's time, the Danes and the Swedes had made steady progress during bloody disputes between their kings, the people, and the nobles. Where there is fighting there is life – and where there is life, there must be progress.

The allied lords spiritual and temporal had been victorious in both countries and however oppressing this rule of the magnates was felt by both king and people, it had its justification. In this period the privileged classes – the nobility and the clergy – bore the development of the national consciousness, the national culture, and social advancement in Denmark and Sweden – as well as in most other European states.

A union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms had long been a desirable goal for the Danish and Swedish leading men, since as long as there was a Danish or Swedish king their power was threatened. The king might seek support from the people – and the people, at least in Sweden's case, was very dissatisfied with its servile condition. Allied with the crown the people might feel strong enough to rise against the proud nobles and prelates.

But a *union king* on the other hand would not belong to any particular people and would hardly be able to win much support within either of the united kingdoms. He would be obliged to seek his support among the magnates, and these could then set the terms for their support.

¹ Sweden and Denmark used to "elect" their kings, but it was understood that the oldest son of the previous king was to be elected except in extraordinary circumstances. In Denmark the prospective king would engage in extensive negotiations with the Danish nobility and sign a coronation charter guaranteeing their rights and privileges during his reign before they would elect him their king. The Danish kings therefore never recognized the resolutions declaring Norway to be part of Denmark, but insisted that Norway was a separate kingdom that they ruled by the ancient right of inheritance.



QUEEN MARGRETE

RECEIVING THE CROWNS OF THE THREE NORDIC KINGDOMS IN KALMAR 1397.

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Olaf V's mother – Queen Margrete – also was enthusiastic for the union idea, though for other reasons. Her forceful diplomacy was aimed at establishing a *strong* monarchy, which were to provide the cohesive force between the united kingdoms, but Valdemar IV *Atterdag*'s shrewd daughter apparently was able to mask this intent until the union between the three Nordic kingdoms became a reality by the Treaty of Kalmar in 1397.



QUEEN MARGRETE'S SEAL.

The Kalmar Union was the work of the privileged classes. The union was not based on the people's interests, but on those of the magnates.

It goes without saying what role the leaderless Norwegian people would play in the union.



QUEEN MARGRETE'S SARCOPHAGUS.

Certainly the appearance of Norway's separate national identity was maintained as long as the Danish and Swedish magnates fought for supremacy in the union. After Christian I was crowned in Trondhjem's cathedral in 1450, an Act of Union was even adopted and confirmed by the Danish and Norwegian privy councils in which document it is specifically stated that "*each realm, Norway and Denmark, shall hereafter be and live together in brotherly love and friendship, and neither shall be superior to the other, but each realm shall be governed by native born men according to the laws of each realm.*"



GREAT SEAL OF KING CHRISTIAN I.

But while the Swedish *people* came into their own again, and in 1523 set a Swedish king – Gustaf Vasa – on the throne, the Norwegian state fell into the hands of the Danish aristocracy, and in the following period Norway's defenses had deteriorated to the extent that Inger of Austraa's son-in-law, Vincents Lunge, with justified scorn could declare that the Danes easily could conquer Norway with two caravels and a couple of hundred men.



EFTER FOTOGRAFI AF M. SKØIEN

FORENINGSAKTEN MELLEM

AF SVERIGE OCH NORSKA
AFSLUTET I BERGEN 1569

THE ACT OF UNION BETWEEN



P. T. MALLINGS BOGHANDELS FORLAG

NORGE OG DANMARK

21. AUGUST 1150.

NORWAY AND DENMARK

THE ACT OF UNION BETWEEN NORWAY AND DENMARK

Concluded in Bergen 29 August 1450.

In God's name, amen. The year after God's birth one thousand four hundred two score and ten, Saturday after St. Augustinus bishop and confessor's day, and after our gracious lord and highborn prince, King Kristiern, king of the Danes, Norwegians, Wends, and Goths, count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst was lawfully nominated, elected, confirmed, and crowned in Trondhjem, we, Marcellus, by the grace of God bishop in Skaalholt, *archipostulatus* in Nidaros and papal *sædis legatus*, Thorlav in Viborg and *postulatus* in Bergen, Gunnar in Stavanger, by the same grace bishops, Knud Mikkelsøn, *utriusque juris* doctor in and deacon in Copenhagen, Alv in Bergen and Gunnar Holk in Oslo, deans, Sigurd Jonssøn, Eggert Frille, Olaf Nilssøn, Jeyp Lunge, Erlend Endridessøn, Nils Erikssøn, Kolbjørn Gerst, Anders Hak, Mattis Jeypsøn, Aage Arelssøn, Erik Bjørnssøn, Johan Bjørnssøn, Guttorm Eyvindssøn, Peder Erikssøn, Hans Krukow, Strange Nilssøn, Simon Bjørnssøn, Korfitz Rønnow, Gaute Kane and Pede Nilssøn, knights, state councilors in Denmark and Norway, all gathered in Bergen to consider the enduring welfare of both kingdoms and their relationship as it must be while both kingdoms live together in friendship, harmony, and true love. Since they now have one lord and king in common, the almighty God to obey, honor, and praise, and both kingdoms and their inhabitants seek peace, restoration, and future prosperity, we have now with the counsel, will, and consent of our gracious lord and highborn prince, the said King Kristiern, formed a firm, perpetual, and unbreakable union between the said kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, for us and many of our brethren, the Archbishop of Lund, bishops, prelates, knights and squires, the state councils and inhabitants of both kingdoms, both those who now live, and those who will be born hereafter, both born and unborn, with such preface and conditions that both kingdoms, Denmark and Norway, shall henceforward remain united in brotherly love and friendship, and one shall not lord it over the other, but each kingdom is to be ruled by native born magistrates, as shown by the

privileges of both kingdoms. Thus also such that each kingdom enjoys, keeps, and uses freely its written laws, freedom and privileges, old and new, which they now have, or hereafter may receive, and that both kingdoms, Denmark and Norway, shall henceforth remain under one king and lord forevermore. And the state council of each kingdom, and its inhabitants, shall aid and assist the state council and inhabitants of the other. And one kingdom and its people shall give the other aid and consolation as the need may be. But neither kingdom shall make war without obtaining the consent of the state council of the other. But the kingdom which asks for assistance shall supply provisions and means of sustenance, and the king shall guarantee against loss. And when it shall please God to let so sad a thing happen that the king dies, then shall the kingdom in which the king dies at once invite the state council of the other kingdom, that the state councils of both may speedily assemble at Halmstad according to the stipulations in the earlier agreement regarding this place. If the king then has one legitimate son or more, then the state councils shall choose the one to be king whom they consider to be the best qualified, and the others shall be properly provided for in both kingdoms. But if such an unfortunate circumstance should occur, which God forbid, that the king has no legitimate son, then shall the state councils of both kingdoms nevertheless meet in said city, and choose the one for king whom, on behalf of both kingdoms, they consider to be best qualified. In these stipulated articles neither kingdom shall suffer any slight or neglect, and especially in the choice of the king the state council of each kingdom shall have full liberty, power, and free will, without let, hindrance, or deceit, and they shall not part until they have agreed upon the choice of a lord and king over both realms, and only one; but in such a way that each kingdom retains its old laws and justice, liberty and privileges. This we promise on both sides that in all ways that which is written afore shall be observed, unchanged and forever, and to this we, the state councils of both realms attach our seals to this document, issued in the year, time, and place afore stated.

It might have been thought that the descendants of the old Vikings had been transformed into harmless sheep, but it was not quite that bad. The free Norwegian farmers, who still sat as securely on their farms as any nobleman, could still show their teeth when their old traditional rights were infringed upon, and this they often made clear to their Danish overlords and local magistrates. But the pugnacious farmer folk had lost interest in the *national defense*.

Each man defended his own *personal* rights. To guard Norway's *national* rights – few Norwegians thought about *that*.

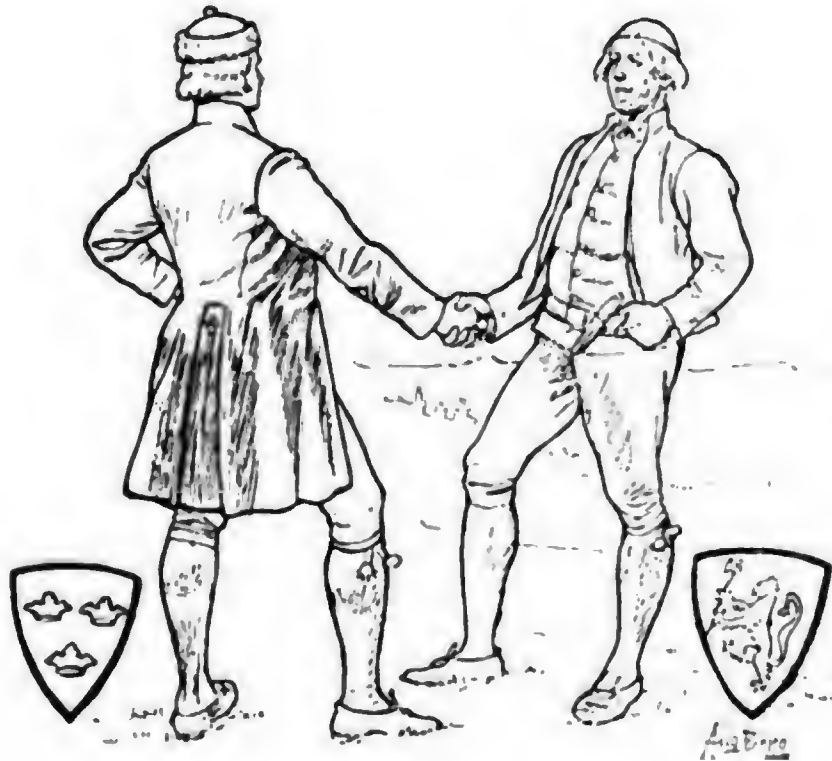


GUSTAF VASA.

The old *leiðang* law still existed, but of course it was not in the interest of the first union kings that the law's provisions should be implemented, since the weaker the Norwegian defenses became – the easier it was to control the leaderless people.

However, in lieu of military service the Norwegian people had to pay a significant *leiðang tax* – and this, the Union king had a strong interest in, since most of the tax was sent to Denmark "to mitigate and relieve the great needs of that country"!

The results of the Union government's fatherly concern for Norway's welfare also soon became apparent. When Frederick II started his lamentable Seven Years' War in 1563, the whole country lay defenseless. Swedish troops moved almost unhindered across the border with fire and sword, since Norwegian farmers who were called up to defend the country proved completely worthless. In many places they even refused to meet up, since they had no interest in this war that had been started on the most ridiculous pretexts. Therefore the farmers on both sides in several of the border regions also made the so-called Farmers' Peace – they promised to sit still on their farms as long as the war lasted.





Chapter Six

THE NORWEGIAN FARMERS' POSITION DURING THE KALMAR WAR.

Indifference for the national defense became starkly apparent during the Kalmar War 1611-13, and this time it even also was about Norway's interests, since the Swedish king had made a claim to Finmarken.¹

Several incursions were made into the Swedish border areas, but the farmers' reluctance to fight with the Swedes was evident in many ways. Some of the farmers subject to the military service call-up refused to carry arms and others quarreled about their pay and just simply went home again if their demands were not met.

In several communities the farmers demanded to decide for themselves in what border area they would serve and, if their wishes were ignored, it sometimes happened that whole guard shifts disappeared into the dark of night.

If the officers tried to get respect by arresting the most obstinate, it often aroused the whole corps, and they could be glad to escape with their lives. In the

¹ The northern part of Norway, and at that time, in the Swedish king's mind anyway, apparently extending down to Lofoten.

Bergenhus and Stavanger fiefs the men subject to the *leiðang* did not even show up for the muster!

The Kalmar War also gave a couple of good examples of what a bold enemy could dare in the defenseless Norway.

The Swedish king Gustaf Adolf had hired mercenary soldiers from Holland and Scotland. In order to avoid having their transport ships snapped up by the Danish-Norwegian fleet in Kattegat and Skagerak, the commanders decided to sail up to northern Norway and march over into Sweden from there.

One group of 1,000 men sailed from Holland aboard four ships commanded by *Generalfeltvagtmeister* Jan van Monckhoven¹ and landed at Valderhaug on Sunnmøre after a quick journey at sea.

Here they ravaged the local countryside for provisions and then continued northward and into the Trondhjem Fjord with Norwegian pilots on board.

The people of Trondhjem got word of the enemy's arrival on the 19th of July 1612. The report caused a great stir, since the commander of the fief – the peacefully inclined Sten Bille – had not made any preparations for the town's defense. However, the citizens got off with just the scare.

Monckhoven probably thought it impossible to attack the fief's capital and therefore the enemy squadron sailed before a gentle breeze through the light summer night in to Stjørdalen. The troops were put ashore here and the ships took the same way back without the least hindrance.

When Bille had recovered somewhat from his fright, he sent several of his officers to Stjørdalen to raise the farmers to block the enemy's further advance, and they managed to gather a couple of thousand men between the farms Einang and Kil, where the narrow road could be defended against a force ten times as strong.

But when Monckhoven advanced, most of the farmers ran away into the woods and the mercenary troops hired by Sweden marched quite unhindered up the valley and across the mountains into Sweden.

And this was in Trøndelagen – the most legendary saga region in the country – where the inhabitants showed so little will to defend their motherland and their own homes!

*

¹ Also known as Quartermaster General Johann von Mönnichhofen with various other spellings.

However, Monckhoven's success must partly be ascribed to surprise. Another detachment of mercenaries hired in Scotland got a quite different reception when their leader, Colonel Alexander Ramsay tried to follow Monckhoven's example and landed by the farm Klungnæs in Romsdalen.

His corps consisted of ca. 600 men. Captain George Sinclair, for whom the Scottish expedition has mistakenly been named in the belief he was the commander rather than Colonel Ramsay, was among the officers.



THE BATTLE SITE AT KRINGEN.

The farmer Per Klungnæs was forced to act as guide for the troops. He is supposed to have led the Scots on a long detour through the worst marshes around Isfjorden in order to give his neighbors time to get away.¹

Contrary to the legend, it seems that the uninvited guests behaved with quite exceptional consideration toward the local people, which of course was also

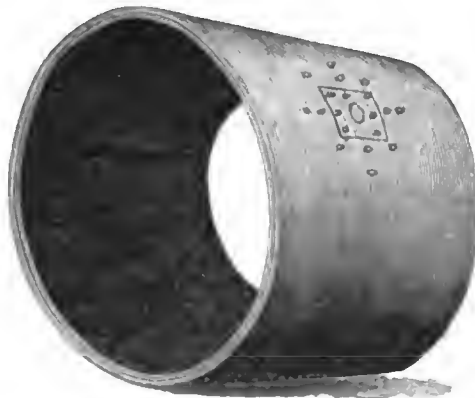
¹ It does seem rather inexplicable that the Scots went ashore at Klungnes on the north side of Isfjorden, where they could look across to Åndalsnes on the south side, which is where they wanted to go to begin their march up the valley. Although no marshes, except perhaps in the very bottom of Isfjorden, with bare mountainsides going straight down into the fjord and no road at time, it would have been a difficult march indeed. One account says he led them *over* the mountains and around to Åndalsnes.

advisable, since these mercenaries wanted to get over to Sweden as quickly as possible and get their promised pay.

Nor is it inconceivable that many of the Scottish mercenaries were friendly disposed toward their ancestors' old homeland – since most of the troops came from the northern region of Caithness, or *Katanes*, which in ancient times had been settled by the Norse.

However, the rumor of the Scots' bold march meanwhile caused alarm among farmers in the upper communities in Gudbrandsdalen. They first assembled at the farm Rosten, where they intended to try to stop the enemy under the leadership of the *lensmann*¹ Lars Hage. However, when the Scots approached, Hage found it best to call for reinforcements from the communities to the south. The farmers showed up willingly, and when they had gathered 4 – 500 men, it was decided to await the enemy at Kringen.

The lensmann Peder Randkleiv and the farmer Berdon Seielstad are named among the associate leaders.



THE SCOTS' BIG DRUM.

On the 26th of August 1612 the Scots came marching down along the Laagen River. They had not met with any resistance from the day they had landed at Klungnæs, and the mercenaries' disdain for the local people had risen so high that the whole corps came sauntering along in single file under the exultant clangor of drums and bagpipes.

¹ *Lensmann* – a local law enforcement official, somewhat similar to an American county sheriff.



THE BATTLE

26 AUGUST



AT KRINGEN

1612

None of these arrogant warriors had any thought that their triumphant march soon would come to an end, and least of all that it would be the farmers in Gudbrandsdalen who would stand in their way.

But when the uninvited guests came to the road by Kringen they were made to know that the warlike spirit still lived among the Norwegian mountains. On a given signal the brave farmers of Gudbrandsdalen assailed the enemy with bows and arrows and sharpened axes – only a few had muskets – and the wailing of bagpipes ended among the moans of the dying. The Scots defended themselves with the courage of desperation, but the farmers' attack was too unexpected. Colonel Ramsay could not bring his troops into order and after a bloody battle he had to surrender with 134 men.

Captain Sinclair was among the fallen officers who were buried on the farm Store Kleivstad.

The numerous "Sinclair muskets," Scottish swords, and other implements of war that is preserved in Akershus Castle, in the museum at Carljohansværn, and private citizens around the country still speak plainly to the brave deed by the farmers of Gudbrandsdalen.¹



Captain Sinclair's grave marker at Store Kleivstad.

¹ There are a lot of legends about this battle. There were only 18 survivors of the 134 men who surrendered sent to Copenhagen after the battle. The other 116 are said to have died in a massacre the next day – a "war crime." On the other hand, there are supposed to have been a number of people with Scottish names living in Gudbrandsdalen after that time.



Chapter Seven

RESTORATION OF NORWAY'S NATIONAL DEFENSES BY CHRISTIAN IV.

The incursions of Monckhoven and Ramsay finally awakened the Union government's attention to Norway's lack of defenses. Fortunately, at time a man sat on the Danish-Norwegian throne who really was interested in the Norwegian people's welfare and that is saying a lot. King Christian IV is the only king of the Oldenburg royal line that we Norwegians have reason to remember with high esteem.

It had now been proved beyond doubt that Norway's traditional *leiðang* law no longer was sufficient to meet the demands of the times. The Kalmar War also was the last time that the *leiðang* was called out.

In order to establish a standing national army, Christian IV took the same path as the Swedish Vasa kings, who had placed much of the compulsory military service duty onto the poorest people in the country in return for land granted from the crown's vast estates.

Late in 1614 King Christian ordered that "north of the mountains"¹ 1,500, and "south of the mountains" 600, young men should be selected from the crown's farms. These men should be obligated to serve the king and country in case of war in return for being exempted from paying certain fees and taxes.

¹ Historically, an administrative division of Norway in *Sønnefjells* and *Nordenfjells* has been used from the Middle Ages up to the end of the 18th century. The border between the two regions was a range from *Åna-Sira* or *Lindesnes*, northwards along *Langfjella* and *Dovre fjell*, i.e. the west coast of Norway was included with *Nordenfjells*.



Christian IV

CHRISTIAN IV.



ii Christian denn
 et. Panmarthe. Norgis. Norgis. Norgis.

Wig. Pöping. Gese. Norgis. Norgis. Norgis.
 Wg. Pöping. Gese. Norgis. Norgis. Norgis.
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[Handwritten note]

Alte. Lill. Gese. Norgis. Norgis. Norgis.
 Et. Pöping. Gese. Norgis. Norgis. Norgis.
 Pöping. Gese. Norgis. Norgis. Norgis.
 Wg. Pöping. Gese. Norgis. Norgis. Norgis.
 Et. Pöping. Gese. Norgis. Norgis. Norgis.
 Pöping. Gese. Norgis. Norgis. Norgis.

The men were divided into 3 regiments and half of the force was furnished with muskets and pistols. The rest were given pikes and spears.

But this plan of military organization soon fell apart for several reasons, and the acquired weapons were sold to the freehold farmers.

Christian IV took up the plan for a national defense force again during his ill-fated participation in the Thirty Years' War, and Norway got a new defense law in 1628.

Herein it was ordered that 4 full farms, or 8 half-farms, or 16 quarter-farms,¹ should form a so-called *lægd*, which should "provide and provision a young man and capable person from their own means in their community, who could be trained as a soldier and in the future be proficiently employed against the enemies of the realm, if something so unfortunate might happen to occur."

These young men and capable persons were to be formed into 5 regiments and 3 *fænniker*² as follows:

Trondhjem's Regiment

drawn from 1,085 *lægder* in Trondhjem's fief under *Lensherre*³ Jens Juel as regimental commander.

Bergenhus Regiment

drawn from 1,363 *lægder* in Bergenhus fief under *Lensherre* Oluf Parsberg

Tønsberg Regiment

drawn from 984 *lægder* in Bratsberg fief, Brunlaug and Numedal fief, Tønsberg fief, Eker fief, Maria Church *prosti* fief and in Bragernæs and Buskerud *fogd*⁴ districts. Commander Gunde Lange.



¹ Farms were appraised and divided into 3 rough classes for tax purposes such that a half-farm paid half as much as a full farm and a quarter-farm a quarter. This worked fairly well under the conditions in Norway at that time.

² *Fænnike* – a small banner, or a military unit smaller than a regiment, a battalion.

³ *Lensherre* – lit. "fief lord."

⁴ *Fogd* – a royally appointed regional law enforcement official and tax collector.

Akershus Regiment

drawn from 1,015 *lægder* in Gudbrandsdalen, Hadeland, Hedemark, Upper and Lower Romerike, Aker, Follo, and Moss *fogd* districts with the *lensherre* in Eker, the famous Admiral Ove Giedde, commanding.



JENS JUEL.



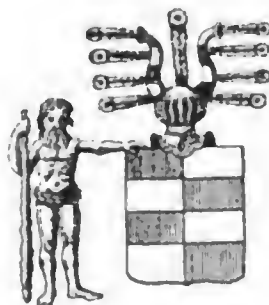
OLUF PARBERG.



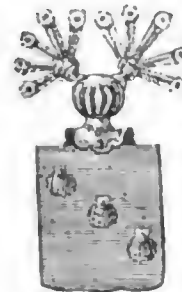
GUNDE LANGE.



GIERLØF NETTELHORST.



HENRICH BILLE.



CHRISTOPHER GIØE.

Baahus Regiment

drawn from 1,013 *lægder* in Baahus fief and the small fiefs on the east side of the Oslo Fjord. Commander: Gierløf Nettelhorst.

Stavanger *Fænnike*

drawn from 390 *lægder*. Commander: Henrich Bille.

Agder *Fænnike*

drawn from 393 *lægder*. Commander: Christopher Giøe.

Jæmtland *Fænnike*

drawn from ca. 400 *lægder* in Jæmtland and Herjedalen fief.

*

In addition a militia was organized with 14 merchant town companies; 4 in Bergen, Trondhjem 2, Christiania 2, and one each in the towns of Fredriksstad,

Tønsberg, Skien, Konghelle, Marstrand, and Oddevald. The new Norwegian army thus was to consist of ca. 6,500 men.

However, this military organization plan did not last very long either, since King Christian made peace with the German emperor in Lübeck the following year.

This ill-starred war had swallowed up immense sums of money and the whole Jutland peninsula was largely ruined from the two years long occupation by Tilly and Wallenstein's hordes of bandits. It was necessary to get money into the state's coffers, and therefore all the higher officers in the Norwegian army were dismissed – which at time meant the army was dissolved as well.



GUSTAF ADOLF'S LANDING IN POMERANIA.

After King Christian had withdrawn, King Gustaf II Adolf of Sweden took up the Protestant cause in Germany.

Since the Kalmar War Sweden had steadily gone forward domestically and abroad under its great king and his friend Axel Oxenstierna's wise leadership, and a couple of successful wars with Russia and Poland had made the Swedes masters of all the inner parts of the Baltic Sea.

Gustaf Adolf felt the Holy Roman Emperor's influence in Europe after Christian IV's defeat could become dangerous for Sweden's new position of power and its freedom of religion. He therefore decided to steal a march on the emperor, and in 1630 he landed in Pomerania with a strong Swedish army of 13,000 men.



THE DEATH OF GUSTAF ADOLF.

In the course of a few months Gustaf Adolf turned the German religious war around with victories over Tilly at Breitenfeld and over Wallenstein in the remarkable Battle of Lützen 6 November 1632, where he died a hero's death on the battlefield. But by then the Swedes had already got a firm enough foothold in Germany that Gustaf Adolf's generals could continue his work – with the help of the French Cardinal Richelieu.

Of course, Sweden's extraordinary rise could not be a matter of indifference for Denmark, since it might be imagined that the new European major power some day would come and demand satisfaction for all the insults and all the harm the Swedish people had been obliged to put up with from their Danish brothers since the days of the Kalmar Union.

King Christian IV tried as best he could to prepare his countries to meet the threatening storm – if it should come – but in Denmark his efforts foundered on the reluctance of the nobility to grant the needed means. The patriotism and many good traits that had characterized the Danish magnates during the Reformation had not been inherited by their sons.



CARDINAL RICHELIEU.

Christian's urgent entreaties found more willing ears in Norway. The requested moneys were appropriated and in 1641 new life was injected into the army ordinance of 1628.

The main features were retained. The recruits had to serve for 3 years and could not lease or purchase a farm until their term of service ended.

The regimental commanders were to hold exercise drills twice a year and the *lægder* had to provide the necessary provisions for the men.

The permanent staff was very few in number at first. It was difficult to provide more than 2 captains, 2 lieutenants, and 3 sergeants for each regiment. The other non-commissioned officers were taken from the farmers who would serve as such in return for exemption from paying taxes. The number of regiments was raised to 6 from the 5 specified in 1628, since the Stavanger and Agder *fænniker* were combined to form the West Country Regiment.

Provisions were also made for three cavalry companies, which altogether consisted of 520 arquebusiers, or horsemen armed with firearms. These were to be manned by the nobility, the clergy, and the wealthiest freehold farmers.

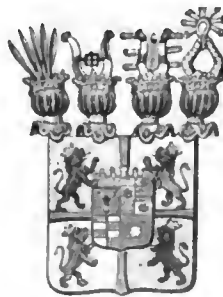
*

Thus Norway once more got a defense force that was well suited to the local conditions and formed an excellent foundation for further development of the national defense.

However, the national spirit was still too dim among most Norwegians for them to recognize the necessity of mandatory service. There were constant complaints that provisions for the conscripted soldiers were not furnished as required, and whole flocks of farm boys fled to Holland and Sweden to escape the drills and military discipline.

If Norway had not been so fortunate as to have Christian IV's competent and energetic son-in-law Hannibal Sehested heading the administration, the newly formed army would probably again have been dissolved.

Sehested was a man who understood when to fight and when to hold his fire, and with guile and might he managed to hold the army together until the state of affairs changed to facilitate his efforts in behalf of the country.

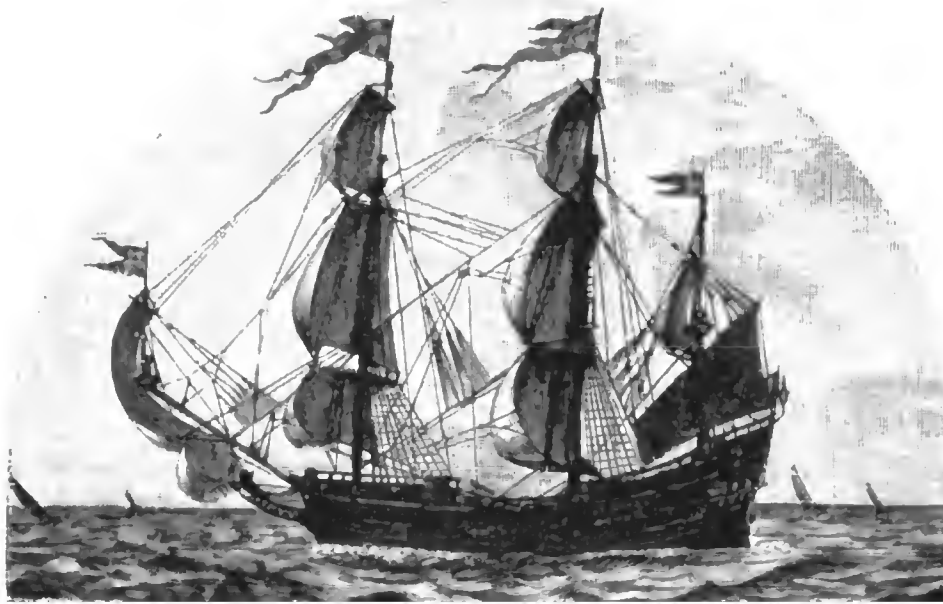


HANNIBAL SEHESTED'S ARMS.



*J. Canniball
Schmidt:*

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"DEN NORSKE LØVE."

Chapter Seven¹

WAR WITH SWEDEN – THE NORWEGIAN ARMY'S BAPTISM BY FIRE IN "HANNIBAL'S WAR."

Uhe storm came – sooner than most had expected, and this was Christian IV's own fault.

Since Gustaf Adolf's death the Union king had done all he could to hinder the rise of Sweden. By constantly acting as a peace broker in Germany Christian hoped to deprive the Swedes of the fruits of their victories, and by screwing the tolls for passage through the Øresund up to unreasonable heights he sought to ruin Sweden's western commerce.

However, this also made the Dutch enemies of the Danes, and there were reasons to believe they would support any attack on Denmark.

The Swedish regency government would prefer to keep the peace until the war in Germany ended, but King Christian's annoying behavior caused the Swedes to lose patience.

¹ The original book has some confusion in the chapter headings. There are two Chapter Seven's in the book, and the following Chapter Eight is not listed in the Contents.

Sweden's renowned military hero Lennart Torstensson was given the task of bringing the Danish-Norwegian king to his see the light.

Torstensson was in Moravia with his army when he received his government's orders to attack Denmark. He immediately broke off his campaign and marched north, and on 12 December 1643 the Swedes crossed the border into Holstein without having declared war. The Duke of Gottorp made common cause with the enemy, and Torstensson advanced with giant strides up through Schleswig and Jutland chasing the Danish army under Marshal Anders Bille ahead of him.

The entire peninsula was shortly in the hands of the Swedes, and the remains of the Danish army slipped over to Funen in a miserable condition.



LENNART TORSTENSSON

At the same time another Swedish corps under Gustaf Horn had invaded Scania and occupied this important area.

The plan was for Torstensson and Horn to meet up on Zealand, and if this meeting had occurred, the Danish position would have been hopeless. But Christian IV eliminated this danger with the Danish-Norwegian fleet. Despite his advanced age, the king acted with great energy. The ships were in good condition, but officers, ammunition, and provisions were lacking, since the State Council had refused to appropriate the necessary funds for the navy.

Now the mighty lords sought to remedy the worst of the deficiencies, and in April 1644 King Christian managed to set out to sea with nine ships. Luck was with him, and he soon after caught up with a Dutch fleet of 17 armed transport ships near Lister Deep on the west coast of Jutland.

The Dutch fleet had been assembled in Holland by the Dutchman Louis de Geer, who lived in Sweden, and was to have ferried Torstensson's army over to Zealand, but the Danish-Norwegian fleet forced the surviving Dutch ships to retreat into the shallow waters where the heavy warships could not follow them, and kept them there with a blockading squadron under Admiral Pros Mund.

Meanwhile the main Swedish fleet under Claes Fleming had gone to sea, and the Zealanders expected that Gustaf Horn would come over from Scania any day – but then King Christian returned from Lister Deep.

With extraordinary effort he outfitted all the ships that would float and sailed off to meet the Swedish fleet before it was too late. He found Fleming by Colberger Heide off the island of Fehmarn and after a stiff battle forced the Swedes to run into the bay at Kiel.

The king, who was seriously wounded, left it to the old Admiral Peder Galt to blockade the enemy, but Galt was not up to the task. The Swedish fleet escaped from the trap, and after joining up with some Dutch warships, the Swedes met Admiral Pros Mund with a smaller Danish-Norwegian squadron off Lolland and completely destroyed it on 13 October 1644, and from then on the Swedes held the upper hand both at sea and on land.



PROS MUND'S ARMS.

Thanks to Hannibal Sehested's dedicated efforts to keep the resurrected defense force in order, Norway escaped the worst effects of the war.

Sehested had understood for a long time what the results would be from his father-in-law's unwise policies and had taken precautions. Thus Jørgen Bielke, son of the Norwegian chancellor, was sent down to Holland to hire experienced officers and soldiers who could fill the most pressing needs in the new army establishment. However, these reinforcements did not come up to Norway until after the war broke out.

The viceroy was just getting ready to travel down to Copenhagen to confer with the king about some important matters of state when the reports came about Torstensson's invasion of Denmark.

With his usual celerity and energy Sehested got the army mobilized. The garrisons in the border fortifications were reinforced, the farmers along the border were enjoined to help watch for the enemy, and all important mountain passes were barricaded with obstacles constructed with logs and rocks.

Sehested turned the top command of the border watch over to the renowned minister in Ullensaker, Kield Stub, and this proved to have been an excellent choice.

Wood for signal fires was brought up to the mountain top signaling stations of past ages and a kind of mail service – the first in Norway – was organized between the border fortresses from Trondhjem to Baahuslen.

In early 1644 the new and untrained army that now for the first time was to show what it was good for, was brought up to a strength of ca. 8,000 men.



KIELD STUB

The campaign began with Sehested early in the spring ordering a couple of regiments to Kongsvinger to invade Värmland, but this plan miscarried. The Swedes were warned in time, and a cavalry detachment under Olof Stake forced the Norwegians to retreat.

At the same time Sehested received orders to move against Gothenburg. Torstensson was then in Jutland and Gustaf Horn in Scania.

In this desperate situation Christian IV had conceived a plan to occupy Gothenburg. With a base in this city he would then attack Horn and try to force him out of Scania.

Sehested immediately set out with a corps of 1,900 men and marched down through "the small fiefs"¹ and Baahuslen to Götaelven. The Baahus Regiment was stationed on the island of Hisingen, while the cavalry was to prevent the enemy from advancing from Värmland. However, when the king heard that Louis de Geer's fleet had sailed from Holland, he gave up all thought of attacking Gothenburg and instead set off with his ships to meet the Dutch fleet, which he found at Lister Deep.

¹ *Smaalenene* – "the small fiefs," a collective term for some small fiefs along the east side of the Oslo Fjord roughly comprising today's county of Østfold in Norway. They were not independent fiefs, but lay under the main fief of Akershus.



KING CHRISTIAN IV IN THE BATTLE



OF COLBERGER HEIDE.

Sehested returned to Akershus Castle to plan a new attack on Gothenburg with a larger force, and fortunately Jørgen Bielcke just then returned from Holland with a large contingent of hired troops and 272 officers, which were distributed among the regiments. Sehested therefore was able to tackle Gothenburg in June with a well-fitted army.

He laid his route through Sweden, invaded Västergötland, captured and burned Vänersborg, and then moved against Gothenburg, where a squadron of 5 warships had arrived and blockaded the city from the sea side.

Meanwhile Olof Stake had marched from Värmland to relieve Vänersborg. He found only ruins, and therefore made raid into Baahuslen, where he let Uddevalla go up in flames as revenge for the destruction of Vänersborg.¹

When Sehested heard of this, he sent a part of the besieging army against Olof Stake, who then had to retreat.

The siege continued, but in late July a superior Swedish force under Lord High Steward Per Brahe and Lieutenant General Lars Kagg came to relieve the city. The siege had to be lifted, and Sehested retreated to Baahus Fortress.

*

The war had been successfully carried over to Swedish soil north of the mountains as well.

When the war broke out, the Trondhjem Regiment under Jacob Ulfeldt was sent to Jemtland. From here several raids were conducted against the nearest Swedish regions, which suffered severely from the Norwegian depredations.

As during the Kalmar War, the Swedish government tried to get the inhabitants of Jemtland and Herjedalen to join Sweden, but even though the Jemts had not always behaved as patriotic Norwegians, they this time chose to erase those memories in an emphatic way.

When a strong Swedish force invaded Jemtland to drive the Norwegians out, the whole region rose up to resist, and the enemy had to retreat with large losses.

¹ Baahuslen, Jemtland, and Herjedalen then still belonged to Norway.

Later, the Norwegian troops continued their destructive forays into the Swedish border provinces, and in order to keep them more or less in check the Swedes established forts at Borgsjö and Kårböle.



JACOB ULFELDT'S ARMS

After having lifted the siege of Gothenburg, Sehested decided to attack Värmland, and in early November 1644 he moved across the Swedish border.

The fortifications at Morast were taken on the 18th of November, and Sehested, who now had got a good foothold, ordered the works to be improved and installed Lieutenant Colonel Judelsbach as commandant. From Morast, the surrounding countryside for miles around was harried in the most frightful manner.

In the meantime, Olof Stake had gathered a corps of 3,000 men and occupied a strong position at Nysager. Sehested attacked him here on the 22nd of December. The battle raged the whole day and ended with the Swedes being completely defeated.

Sehested is said to have personally engaged in the wild hand to hand combat, and his velvet cap was shot through in several places.

Now the road to Karlstad lay open, and the Norwegian could easily have taken this town – the Danes even thought Sehested would march against Stockholm, which had been emptied of troops, but the Norwegian viceroy did not let himself be tempted to march farther east. His small army could then easily be cut off from its supply line from Norway. Instead he turned south along the west side of Lake Vänern. A Swedish corps under Ivar Bagge tried to stop the Norwegian advance at Åmål, but the Swedes were easily repulsed, Åmål was taken, and Johan Wrangell had no better luck when he tried to stop Sehested at Köpmannabro.



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However, the Norwegians could not retake Vänersborg, which had been rebuilt and fortified in the meantime, although Colonel Henrich Bielcke attempted to storm the town three times.

Meanwhile, another detachment under Major General Achim von Bredow had reached Gamla Lödöse, which was taken on 20 January 1645, and shortly thereafter Sehested himself with the main force took the Tysland fortifications.



HANNIBAL SEHESTED IN THE BATTLE AT NYSAGER.

The Norwegian army had been significantly worn down by all these skirmishes, and Sehested now decided to return to Norway.

Christian IV had hoped that the war on the Norwegian border would make up for the crushing defeats of the Danes, but Sehested made him understand that the small Norwegian army could not do much more than defend their own borders and harry the Swedish border regions.

If the Norwegian army was to become able to gain a tolerable peace for the united kingdoms, the Danish council of state must at least provide the money needed to hire more troops and improve the army's inadequate outfitting. Hannibal Sehested even personally traveled to Copenhagen to speak for his views, but with little success.

When he returned to Norway in May, conditions were far from as favorable as before he left. Major General Stenbock had advanced on the Morast fortifications in late March. His first attack was repulsed, but when Stenbock was significantly reinforced, the Norwegians had to give up the fort. A hired Scottish captain had helped the Swedes by pointing out certain weaknesses in the defenses. He later had to pay with his life for this act of treason.

Stenbock then marched across the Norwegian border, and the Norwegians had to give up their fortifications at both Magnor and Midtskog.

The Swedes now tried to cross over the Glomma River, but were prevented from doing so by Kield Stub, who had roused the farmers to resist in mass. Stenbock then got orders to return to Västergötland, since the Swedish government feared Sehested would undertake a new invasion in this region.

During his invasion in Norway, Stenbock had captured a number of soldiers and farmers as prisoners. These were sent home without ransom and well provisioned. He is said to have stated at their departure that they were treated so considerately because they were not Danes – Sweden's enemies – but Norwegians – Sweden's neighbors and friends.

From this and several similar occurrences in this war one gets the impression that the unnatural national hate that later grew so high during the following wars that the Norwegians had to fight with the Swedes – thanks to the unfortunate union with Denmark – still was a very feeble plant.

After his return to Norway, Hannibal Sehested again began preparing for another attack on Gothenburg. On August 1 he moved into Västergötland with 3,500 infantry and 900 cavalry. A Swedish corps of 1,100 men that tried to stop the Norwegian advance had to retreat, and Sehested continued unhindered to Nya Lödöse and approached Gothenburg. But then a Swedish army of 9,000 men under Lieutenant General Kagg again came to relieve the city. After several minor skirmishes on Hisingen and the mainland, Sehested retreated across the Göta River. The Swedes followed after and began besieging Baahus Fortress on August 8, but after a few days it was reported that King Christian had signed a humiliating peace treaty at Brömsebro 13 August 1645. Despite the Norwegian

army's almost unbroken record of success, the Norwegians had to pay dearly for their fellow member of the Union's defeats. At the beginning of the peace conference, the Danish-born negotiators were even brazen enough to only offer the Norwegian territory of Jemtland as a peace offering to the victors, but having all of Jutland and most of Scania in their possession the Swedes naturally would not be content with that. The results were that the Union's commissioners had to relinquish not only the Norwegian lands in Jemtland and Herjedalen, but also the Danish islands of Ösel and Gotland in the Baltic Sea, and the Danish province of Halland was surrendered to Swedish occupation for a period of thirty years as a guarantee that the treaty provisions would be fulfilled.

The Norwegian region around Idre and Särna in upper Dalarna, which had been occupied by the Swedes during the war, were forgotten in the negotiations, but were kept by Sweden and formally surrendered by a separate treaty in 1651.

The Nordic countries changed roles again with the Treaty of Brömsebro. Norway had had its time in the sun, and now so had Denmark, so it was Sweden's turn. When the Thirty Years War ended in 1648, Sweden was one of the major powers in Europe, *and the policy of conquest, which the thinly populated and poor country now had to follow in order to maintain its position as a major power, would soon threaten Norway and Denmark with extinction.*



MEMORIAL MEDAL FOR THE SEA BATTLES AT LISTER DEEP AND COLBERGER HEIDE.



Chapter Eight¹

**AFTER THE TREATY OF BRØMSEBRO.
THE NORWEGIAN ARMY IS THREATENED WITH DISSOLUTION.
CORONATION OF KING FRIDERICH III AND DANISH THOUGHTS
OF REVANCHE. SWEDEN AND CARL X GUSTAF'S POLICY OF
CONQUEST.**

Uhe reconstructed Norwegian military force had passed its first test rather satisfactorily, especially when it is considered that it was against Swedish troops they had fought, since all of Europe acknowledged that Gustaf Adolf's soldiers were the best the 17th century had to show.

Of course, great deficiencies had been found in the army's organization and after the peace was signed, Hannibal Sehested immediately presented a proposal for filling the worst of the holes, but for that *money* was needed.

¹ The original book has some confusion in the chapter headings. There are two Chapter Seven's in the book, and this Chapter Eight is not listed in the Contents.

Since the taxes were high enough before, the viceroy proposed to the Danish government that all *Norwegian* state income should be spent in the country where it was raised to pay for its defense and paying off its debts, but of course the Danish council of state would not go along with that. They insisted that a large part of the Norwegian state income had to be used to "to mitigate and relieve Denmark's great needs."

Regrettably, the Danish councilors of state were encouraged in this less than brotherly love by many Norwegians, who still had not realized the importance of a national defense force. There were constant complaints about the heavy burdens that the conscription laid on agriculture and the farm boys still had difficulties submitting to military discipline.

Though the army had saved the country from many misfortunes, it was still viewed with little sympathy. However, this might be ascribed to the crudity and brutality with which many of the foreign officers treated the recruits. Some of these gentlemen had won their spurs under Tilly and Wallenstein and thought they could treat the conscripted soldiers as if they were German or Scottish mercenaries.

The free Norwegian farmers naturally would not put up with such treatment and it happened several times during military drills that the recruits threw down their weapons and refused to exercise until the offending officer had been reprimanded or dismissed. The farmers' hostile attitude even forced the government to let a high-ranking officer pay for his brutality with his life.

Under such circumstances the State Council in Copenhagen understood very well that it would get strong support within the Norwegian nation itself if the conscription for the Norwegian army was exchanged for a tax, and this would of course be the most convenient for the Danes, since there had been a number of signs that the Norwegians' sense of national identity had risen since the re-establishment of the national army, and this naturally alarmed the Danish state councilors.

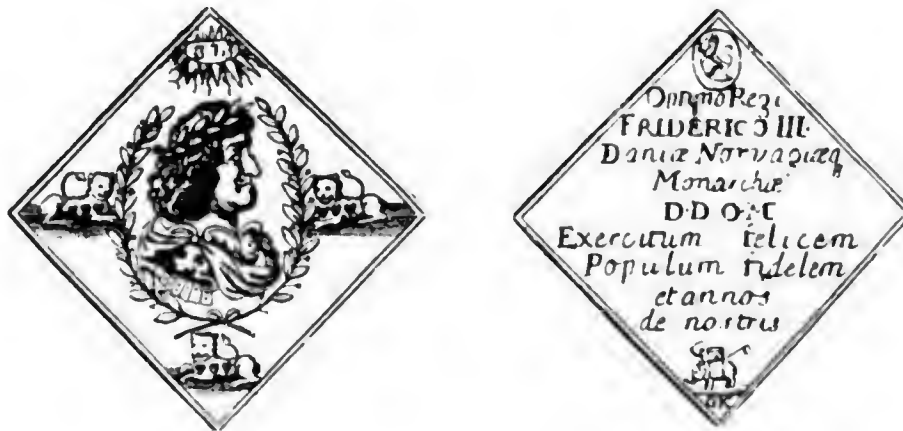
In 1646 a commission was appointed to consider the question of dissolving the Norwegian army, and the members of the commission also concluded that the conscription should be replaced with a tax, which should be used to pay a regiment of professional soldiers.

But fortunately Norway still had its powerful and clear-sighted viceroy Hannibal Sehested. By his great influence with Christian IV he managed to

frustrate the Danish State Council's plan, and a new ordinance for the Norwegian army was issued on 3 March 1647.

The number of regiments was reduced to three, but on the other hand, they were twice as large. Conscription was only to be conducted in the fiefs along the Swedish border. The coastal districts from Tønsberg west were ordered to provide the necessary seamen for the united fleet.

However, this new organization did not last long. Soon circumstances intruded that gave the need for national defense so strong growth that there never again would be questions about dissolution or reduction of the Norwegian army.



Christian IV died in 1618, and his second oldest son, Friderich, who earlier had been archbishop in Bremen, followed him on the throne of the united kingdoms.

However, before the Danish nobility would acknowledge Friderich as king, he had to sign a coronation charter that practically turned Denmark into an aristocratic republic. The president bore the title of king, right enough, but had hardly any kingly prerogatives.

But there was a small hole in the bag of privileges and benefits the nobility had seized for themselves at the crown's expense, and this hole the Council of State had neglected to mend.

In case of war the Danish king had very extensive authority – as commander in chief of the army and navy – and the crown was not deprived of this authority in Friderich III's coronation charter. It was probably considered unnecessary since the Council of State declared war or peace and could determine the military budgets as it found convenient.

The new king was not a very impressive individual, but he had no liking for being the Council's sock puppet, but he had to find a favorable occasion to break his bonds, and that he would hardly get – unless a war broke out.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that it was not a pressing concern for the king or his ambitious queen, Sophie Amalie, to dampen the strong revanchist sentiments that imbued almost the whole Danish nation after the Peace of Brömsebro.



SOPHIE AMALIE.

Meanwhile, the Swedes made great efforts to keep the largest military establishment possible on its feet. They realized quite clearly that Sweden's new role as a major power could only be maintained by the force of arms and new conquests. When Gustaf Adolf's capricious daughter Christina renounced the throne in 1654 and turned it over to her cousin Carl Gustaf of Zweibrücken, the Swedes also gained one of Europe's top generals to command its army.

Carl X Gustaf had grown up during the turmoil and havoc of the Thirty Years War. It was difficult for him to remain inactive, and the Swedish nobility only longed to win new laurels on the fields of battle – and new riches to keep up the opulent lifestyle maintained on their estates after the Peace of Westphalia.

Of course Carl Gustaf knew about the Danish plans for revenge – but he could wait.

The king had good knowledge of the Danish pitiful means of defense from the Swedish ambassador's reports and was confident that the Danish State Council would see to it that the situation would not be improved while the Swedish military was occupied elsewhere.



QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN.

Carl Gustaf decided to first complete Sweden's domination of the Baltic States at the expense of the Kingdom of Poland.

It was not hard to think of a pretext, since the Polish ruler Johan Kasimir had refused to acknowledge Carl Gustaf as king of Sweden. As son of Sigismund, who had been driven from the Swedish throne by Gustaf Adolf's father, he considered himself to have better rights to the Swedish crown than the son of the German count of Zweibrücken. Johan Kasimir also refused to acknowledge Sweden's sovereignty over Livonia.

In the summer of 1655 the Swedish army invaded Poland led by the king himself. Without

meeting resistance worth mentioning, Carl Gustaf occupied the capital, and after a couple of months the Swedes had conquered almost all of the kingdom. Johan Kasimir fled to Silesia, and when the Swedish king later forced the Elector of Brandenburg to place his army at the Swedes' disposal, several European powers began to fear that Carl Gustaf intended to become ruler of all of northern Europe.

Austria and the Netherlands at once moved to set boundaries for the Swedish military conquests. Great efforts were made to raise their own military capabilities, while Austrian and Dutch envoys sought to energize other states to also resist Sweden.

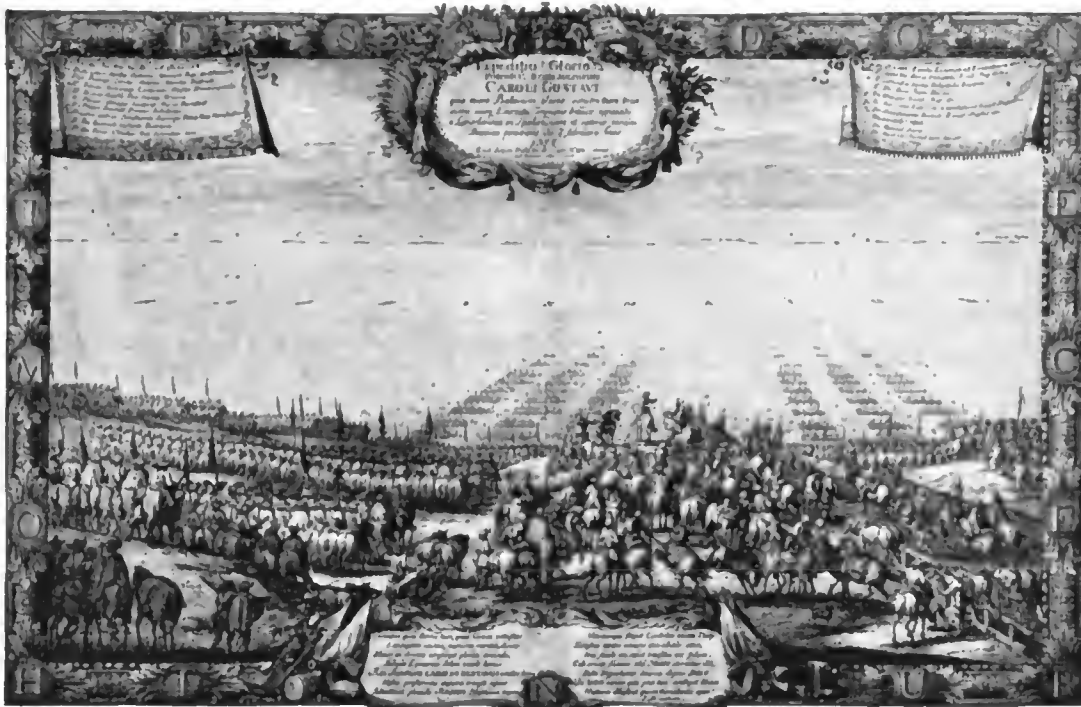
The Danes would have liked to declare war at once, but reports of the Swedes victorious campaign in Poland restrained them.

Meanwhile a sense of nationality awakened among the Polish people. In 1656 they rose in all regions of the country in a desperate fight for national independence, and when the Russians also began to stir themselves, Carl Gustaf's occupation of the destitute country became very difficult to maintain.

The following year it even looked like the Swedes would be forced to entirely withdraw from Poland and sign a peace treaty with Johan Kasimir – but then the Danes saved them from this humiliating retreat.



JOHAN II KASMIR.



THE SWEDISH ARMY MARCHES ACROSS THE GREAT BELT.

Chapter Nine

THE FIRST WAR WITH CARL GUSTAF – THE SWEDES' TRIUMPHANT MARCH ACROSS THE BELTS TO ROSKILDE – THE NORWEGIAN-SWEDISH FIELD OF WAR – THE "KRABBE CAMPAIGN" – THE RECONQUEST OF JEMTLAND – THE RAID ON SILBOJOCK

King Friderich and his councilors had found that the opportune moment had arrived for taking revenge for the Treaty of Brömsebro, and declared war 1 June 1657.

The Danish declaration of war came to Carl Gustaf as a gift from Heaven, since it gave him a good excuse to get out of Poland.

On the 26th of June he left the city of Bromberg with a corps of 6,000 men, and before the Danish government even was told he had left Poland, the Swedish army was marching up through Holstein chasing the Danish army under Marshal Anders Bille ahead of it – just like in 1644.

The Jutland peninsula lay open to the enemy and in late August the Swedes stood before the strong fortress Friderichsodde – by the present town of Fredericia.

However, Carl Gustaf was forced to return to Germany because Johan Kasimir had driven the Swedes completely out of Poland with the help of Austrian mercenary troops, and allied with the Elector of Brandenburg, who had terminated his alliance with the Swedish king, he now threatened to attack Sweden's possessions in Germany.

Prior to his departure to Germany, Carl Gustaf turned the command in Denmark over to General Wrangell, who earlier had joined the army with significant reinforcements.

Wrangell conquered almost all of Jutland and stormed Friderichsodde on the 24th of October though the fortress was well supplied with ammunition and the defenders were much more numerous than the attackers.

It might have been questionable if the Swedes would have gotten any farther, since the Danish-Norwegian fleet under command of Jørgen Bielcke, the Norwegian admiral well known from Hannibal's War, had taken complete control at sea.

However, unfortunately for the Danes the winter cold became so severe that year that Carl Gustaf, who had now returned, "decided to make use of the bridge that God had laid across the sea for him and his army."



CARL GUSTAF WRANGELL

On 30 January 1658 the Swedish army began its famous march across the Belts. The Danish troops that tried to prevent their coming ashore on Funen surrendered after a short battle, and the Swedes marched victoriously right across Funen to Svendborg.

The Swedish military engineer Erich Dahlberg tested the ice on the Great Belt and decided it was safe. Under his leadership the army continued on across

Langeland, Lolland, and Falster and meeting no opposition, approached the Danish capital city, which could not defend itself.

It was now necessary to plead for peace at any price, and that the price would be very high went without saying. Carl Gustaf is alleged to have said that "since the Danes have made me make the long dance from Poland, they should at least pay for the music."

Denmark was indeed made to pay for its frivolous breach of the peace – and so did the Norwegians. They were also made to pay despite their successful campaigns along their long border with Sweden.

*

In Norway quite different preparations were made for conducting this war – which Friderich III's ambition and his German-Danish councilors' total lack of common sense had brought about. The new army ordinance of 1647 had reduced the number of national regiments to three, but as mentioned earlier this arrangement did not last long.

Hannibal Sehested and his successors as viceroys, Gregers Krabbe and Nils Trolle, thought a future war with Sweden was very likely. Therefore major efforts were made to improve the national defense establishment. The border fortresses were refurbished and the number of regiments brought up to 6 as before. When the war broke out, the army was increased by one more regiment, which for the time being was named after its competent regimental commander, Georg von Reichwein. In addition several companies of cavalry were hired, such that the total military force was brought up to 10,000 men.

As in the previous war the army had to fight in two different theaters of war. The *lensherre* in Båhus, Iver Krabbe, was appointed to command in Norway "south of the mountains" and Jørgen Bielcke in the north.

According to his office the viceroy Nils Trolle should have the overall command, but he was no warrior and therefore gave Krabbe and Bielcke free hands with regard to military operations.

The southern army was ordered to gather on the west bank of the Göta River, where Båhus Fortress made an excellent base for an eventual invasion into Sweden.

The island Tjurholmen, just above the fortress, would make it easy to transport troops across the river for both Swedes and Norwegians. Krabbe therefore ordered Colonel Johan von Fircks to occupy Tjurholmen with a company of the Båhus regiment as quickly as possible.

This order had just been carried out when the enemy appeared and wanted to take back the island, but the attack was unsuccessful. Reinforcements from the fortress arrived in time, and the Norwegians crossed the river in boats and armored launches. The Swedes had constructed fortifications at Grönåen. These were given up without a fight and destroyed.



IVER KRABBE

The Norwegians then returned to Tjurholmen, where Krabbe himself arrived in the middle of July. Here he was attacked shortly afterward by Field Marshal Robert Douglas, who now wanted to try to cross the Göta River.

The force occupying the island at the time only numbered a couple of hundred men, and since it was futile to resist the several times larger Swedish force, Krabbe retreated to the mainland where he gathered significant reinforcements and with these succeeded in preventing the Swedes from getting a foothold on the Norwegian side of the border.

Douglas then marched north to Vänersborg from where he probably hoped to be able to cross the border into Norway and take Uddevalla before Krabbe could come to the town's relief. But if so, he miscalculated. The Norwegians kept careful track of the Swedes' movements, and when the enemy appeared before the Uddevalla defense works early in the morning of 31 July, Krabbe had already arrived with 7 companies of infantry, 2 companies of cavalry, and a couple of cannon. Douglas, who had about a similar force, was immediately attacked by the Norwegians and after a hot fight had to withdraw back to Vänersborg.

A few days later he decided to march down along the Göta River again, since he realized the impossibility of invading Norway with the small force he had. Krabbe followed after him, and on the 27th of August crossed the Göta River near Hjertum intending to attack the enemy on the march, but it only resulted in a minor skirmish, since the main Swedish force had already passed by.

The next day Krabbe received orders to advance toward Gothenburg and Halland with all his available troops. The Danish government hoped this movement would pull a part of the Swedish army out of Scania.

On the 4th of September the Norwegians were gathered outside Båhus Fortress, and on the following day a detachment of cavalry and dragoons rode down to Gothenburg. By the bridge in *Gamla Staden* [the Old City] they met a Swedish army contingent, which was quickly cut down. Krabbe meanwhile had a temporary bridge thrown across the Göta River and marched the whole army across.

A fortified camp was constructed outside Gothenburg, and from here cavalry was sent in separate detachments into Halland and Dalsland. There was a skirmish at Mynge, wherein the Swedes drew the short end of the stick and a number of their cavalry were captured by the Norwegians.

In order to draw Krabbe away from Gothenburg, Field Marshal Eric Stenbock assembled a strong army at Vänersborg and invaded Båhuslen. Krabbe went to meet him, and on the 27th of September there was a bloody fight at the Hjertum church that lasted the whole day. The Swedes then had to save themselves by fleeing, leaving behind 3 to 400 dead, wounded, and prisoners, plus a battle flag and 2 cannon.

However, the Norwegians were not allowed to follow up on their victory – for lack of provisions, which was a very important factor in the warfare of that time.

A couple of days after the battle at Hjertum, Krabbe was ordered to move into Halland where a Danish army detachment was to meet him at Kungsbacka. He

therefore assembled his troops on the island Hisingen and on the 15th of October marched over the bridge past Gothenburg and into Halland. The corps consisted of 14 infantry companies, 7 companies of cavalry and dragoons. But when the Norwegians came to Kungsbacka, they were informed that the Swedes had retreated to Scania.



HJERTUM CHURCH.

For the lack of any other campaign plan, Krabbe moved into Västergötland, but this border province was soon so destitute that it was impossible to gather enough food for the troops, and on the 31st Krabbe returned to Norway, where his army was quartered among the farmers until the necessary provisions could be obtained.

In November the Swedes assembled a new army at Vänersborg under Field Marshal Gustaf Otto Stenbock and *Rigsfälttøjimester*¹ Eric Stenbock. When he heard of this, Krabbe went to Uddevalla and assembled a corps of 16 infantry companies, 6 cavalry companies, and 13 cannon.

¹ A title similar to Quartermaster General, but relating to armaments rather than provisions.

Due to the harsh weather and poor winter outfitting for the troops, the Swedes and Norwegians faced each other inactively for the whole month of December, and meanwhile the Norwegian corps shrank so badly from disease and desertions that Krabbe soon had no more than 13-1400 men left.



GUSTAF OTTO STENBOCK

The Swedes took advantage of this in early 1658 and moved across the border with an army of 4,000 men and 16 cannon. Krabbe had to leave Uddevalla and marched northward to the bridge at Kvistrum and from there to Svarteborg and Naverstad.

A couple of companies had been left behind in the Uddevalla fortifications. These had to surrender after a brave defense. The men were allowed to march off free, but without their weapons.

Meanwhile, Krabbe had received long awaited reinforcements of 8 infantry companies and 2 companies of cavalry and dragoons under Colonel von Reichwein. The Norwegians decided to go on the offensive again and advanced toward Uddevalla while constantly skirmishing with the enemy.

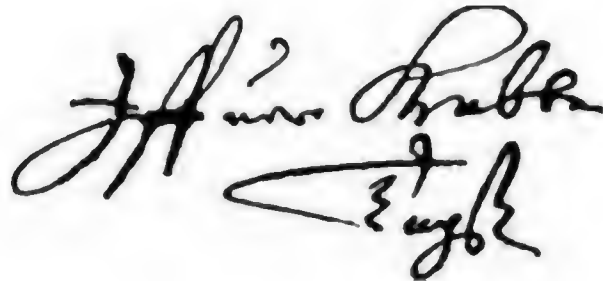
Field Marshal Stenbock did not venture to stop Krabbe's march, since the Swedish army had suffered so much from sickness and small skirmishes that it hardly had 1,000 men fit for service. In February Stenbock retreated back into Sweden with the remains of his army after leaving a strong detachment in the fortifications at Uddevalla under Major Andersson.

Uddevalla was immediately besieged by Colonel Fircks, who led the advance troops, and when Krabbe soon afterward arrived with the main force, the Swedish commander requested to be allowed to leave the fortifications with "muskets ready, burning fuses, and bullets in the mouth." But Krabbe replied to this that the Swedes would have to be content with the same conditions they had granted the Norwegian troops when they lost the works a few days earlier.



JOHAN VON FIRCKS

This border war was popularly called "Krabbe's War" after the vigorous leader of the Norwegian forces.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Iver Krabbe". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping initial "I" and a prominent flourish at the end.

IVER KRABBE'S SIGNATURE.

The most important event in the northern theater of war was the re-conquest of Jemtland. In late August 1657 Major General Jørgen Bielcke left Trondhjem with 2,500 men and some cannon. Due to the poor roads he broke his corps into two divisions after arriving in Stjørdalen. One was to march over Hegra and Meraker, the other up through Verdalen and Sul. The marching was difficult, and in some places the cannon had to be transported on horseback.

The divisions joined up near Duved, and on the 9th of September the corps moved into Jemtland without meeting any opposition.

The Jemts received their old compatriots as liberators. A number of the farmers volunteered to join the Norwegian force and others did good service as scouts. The few Swedish troops were soon driven out. Only the fortifications on Frösön, an island in Storsjön, were defended with determination, but after being besieged for several weeks, the commandant, Major Myre, surrendered on condition of being allowed free departure into Sweden.

On this occasion 10 cannon, 800 muskets, and a lot of provisions fell into the hands of the Norwegians.

The fortifications were improved, and Lieutenant Colonel Reinhold von Hoven appointed to command them.

Bielcke intended to march on from Storsjön to Falun,¹ but got orders from the viceroy to march southward into Värmland, since the Swedes were preparing to

¹ Bielcke's autobiography says he intended to attack the great copper works, and the largest copper mine in Europe at that time was at Falun, but Falun is almost as far south from Storsjön as Värmland. Perhaps it was some other copper works farther north he intended to attack

invade Norway from there. Bielcke hurried southward with 2,000 men, but the campaign was cut short by peace being concluded.

Concurrent with Bielcke's march into Jemtland, the *lensherre* in Nordland, Preben von Ahnen, also invaded Sweden. He marched across the Salt Mountains into Lapmarken in Sweden. The goal was the silver works at Silbojock, which were destroyed and never re-opened in later years.



PREBEN VON AHNEN'S ARMS.

Despite the re-conquest of Jemtland, and regardless of Iver Krabbe not only having repulsed all hostile attacks, but also having made several successful forays into Sweden, by the Treaty of Roskilde 26 February 1658, the Norwegians had to swallow giving up not only Jemtland, but also *Throndhjem Len and Baahuslen*. Regrettably, the Norwegian sense of national patriotism was still too weak to raise an angry and armed protest against constantly having to pay for the Danes' disastrous defeats.

Norway no longer was a continuous country, but split in two by the loss of Trøndelagen, which had played such a prominent role in Norwegian history, but would now form a partition wall between southern and northern Norway. This dismemberment might well have led to the country's demise. It was therefore a heaven-sent stroke of luck that the Treaty of Roskilde was revised.





THE UNSUCCESSFUL SWEDISH ATTACK ON COPENHAGEN 11 FEBRUARY 1659.

Chapter Ten

**THE SECOND WAR WITH CARL X GUSTAF – THE SWEDISH KING
WANTS TO UNITE THE THREE KINGDOMS UNDER HIS SCEPTER –
INVASION OF ZEALAND – FAILED HOPES –
TRONDHJEM RECONQUERED – THE UNSUCCESSFUL SWEDISH
ATTACK ON HALDEN – THE TREATY OF COPENHAGEN.**

The news of the peace treaty had hardly had time to spread, when the various European governments received startling reports from their ambassadors that the Swedes once more stood before the walls of Copenhagen.

Following the Treaty of Roskilde, Carl Gustaf had first thought to attack one of the other countries Sweden was at war with, but he was uncertain if he should start with Poland, Austria, or Brandenburg. He was not concerned with Russia, since peace negotiations were already underway with that country.

The Swedish State Council felt that conquering Poland should come first, but the *Riksdag* representatives thought that the army should be sent into Branden-

burg as soon as possible – and the latter proposal was most in accordance with Carl Gustaf's thinking.

However, he well knew that the Dutch would never tolerate that the entire German coast of the Baltic Sea came into Swedish hands. A Dutch fleet already had been outfitted to relieve Danzig.



HANS SCHAK

Carl Gustaf therefore demanded that the Danes should close the Sound and the Belts to the Dutch, but this demand met a firm rejection and, since the king feared the Danes would attack the Swedes in the rear if he invaded Brandenburg, he conceived of the grand plan of bringing Denmark and Norway in under the Swedish throne before he continued his triumphal march southward.

Without sending any declaration of war, Carl Gustaf landed in Korsør 8 August 1658 with 4,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry. Three days later the Swedes stood before Copenhagen, which still had not been prepared for war.

After the less than heroic performance by the Danes a few months earlier, Carl Gustaf naturally thought the capital would be easy prey, but he miscalculated.

The people of Copenhagen led by the Mecklenburg General Hans Schak, *Borgermester*¹ Hans Nansen, and *Stadthauptmann*² Thuresen rose to a desperate fight for their own freedom – and thus also for all of Denmark's independence.

Friderich III, who had been advised to travel to Norway, declared that "he would die in his *rede*."³ Citizen, sailors, soldiers, and students – even women, vied to participate in the defense of their city.

¹ *Borgermester* - Mayor

² *Stadthauptmann* – commandant of the local militia.

³ "*Dø i sin rede*" – a play on words. *Rede* in modern Danish means nest, as in bird's nest, but in Old Norse would also mean dominion.

A fresher wind blew through the Danish beech forests – and whisked away Carl Gustaf's dreams of empire.

A Dutch fleet under Admiral Opdam won a victory over the Swedes in the Sound 29 October 1658 and carried a reinforcement corps of 4,000 men to Copenhagen along with masses of provisions and ammunition. A Swedish attempt to storm the city miscarried, and Carl Gustaf had to lift the siege and be content with blockading the city.



MEDALLION IN MEMORY OF ADMIRAL OPDAM'S VICTORY IN THE SOUND.

The people in Jutland, Scania, and on Bornholm also rose to fight, and when a combined army of Poles, Dutchmen, Austrians, Brandenburgers, and Danes defeated the Swedes at Nyborg 25 November 1659, Carl Gustaf had had enough of the Danish war, turned the command of the army blockading Copenhagen over to the count of Sulzbach, and went to Gothenburg from where he intended to personally lead the war operations in the Norwegian-Swedish theater in the hope of making up for his disappointment at Copenhagen with Norwegian conquests.



MEDALLION IN MEMORY OF THE ASSAULT ON COPENHAGEN.

Major General Bielcke traveled down to Denmark after the Roskilde Treaty was signed. From several conversations with the Dutch and Swedish envoys, Bielcke thought that the peace would not last long, and when King Friderich rewarded him for his outstanding performance during the campaign in Jemtland by appointing him to the overall command of the Norwegian army, he at once traveled up to Norway to make the necessary preparations for a renewed war. News of the Swedes landing in Korsør arrived shortly thereafter.



CARL X GUSTAF

The not so warlike viceroy Nils Trolle thought all to be lost, since the last war had emptied all the stores of ready money, and from where could money be raised to outfit the army again?

Certainly, none would come from Denmark.

But Bielcke made the viceroy pull himself together, and together they issued a call for all levels of society to offer their mites for the country's defense. The national spirit had begun to grow, which is shown by the readiness to give that rich and poor exhibited on this occasion.

The army was brought back on its feet again in short order – and better equipped than at any time before.

Jørgen Bielcke's war plan was *to make all possible efforts to re-conquer Trondhjem's fief and at the same time prevent the enemy from invading southern Norway*.

By the Treaty of Roskilde¹ the governor of the Trondhjem fief, Peder Vibe, had the disagreeable duty of surrendering his fief to the Swedish king's commissioner.

In early May 1658 Trondhjem's new overlord, Claes Stiernsköld, arrived with 800 men, and the Swedes soon made themselves comfortably at home, though all the lower grades of Norwegian officials were allowed to keep their posts. Since their new masters on the whole behaved quite moderately, most of the people in Trøndelagen took their separation from the mother country with a regrettable lack of concern. The only thing that seems to have caused serious discontent was the conscription of 2,000 men to serve in the Swedish army in Livonia and an increase in the sales tax on fish.

The Swedish occupation fortunately was too short to set deeper marks in the population, and when the Norwegian army advanced to drive the Swedes out, their love of the mother country flamed up again.

Bielcke had turned the re-conquest of Trondhjem over to Major General Georg von Reichwein, who decided to lead 1,000 men of his own regiment over land to Trondhjem, while troops from Bergenhus and the West Country regiments journeyed by sea.



GEORG VON
REICHWEIN

¹ The original text is in error here, referring to the Treaty of Brömsebro and the year 1557(!). The Treaty of Roskilde and 1658 are correct.

In early September von Reichwein marched with the main force up through Østerdalen, following approximately the same route as the present railroad to Trondhjem. A smaller detachment under Major Paul Michelet marched up through Gudbrandsdalen, and 500 men from the valley enthusiastically joined the procession led by *Lensmann* Jørgen Filipssøn and the freehold farmers Hans Paulssøn Tolstad and Kristen Nilssøn Bø.

Michelet then led his men across Dovre to Opdal. During the march several Swedish detachments tried to stop the Norwegian troops. Thus 3 cavalry companies under Lieutenant Colonel Morath held a good position at a narrowing on the Opdal road, but soon had to save themselves by fleeing.

The march then continued down through Rennebo and Orkdalen while gathering reinforcements by armed groups of farmers, and on the 1st of October von Reichwein's united corps could encamp on Stensberget outside Trondhjem.



LUDVIG ROSENKRANTZ
BARON OF ROSENDAL

A flotilla from Bergen had already arrived a couple of days earlier. It carried 2,000 men commanded by Ludvig Rosenkrantz and Jacob Due. A detachment from Nordland under Preben von Ahnen had also arrived.

Claes Stiernsköld thus faced a greatly superior force. He had only 750 men fit for action and also lacked provisions and ammunition. However, he had been promised reinforcements from Sweden and these were under way. But the Norwegians had anticipated this, and Major Eilerik Visborg was detached to the Swedish border with part of the Bergenhus Regiment to fend them off.

Besides improving the old city fortifications located at the narrowest place between the Nid River and the fjord, Stiernsköld had caused several other defensive works to be constructed.

However, no attempts had been made to fortify the nearby heights which dominated the town.

As soon as Trondhjem was blocked off from all directions, von Reichwein set up artillery batteries from Ilevolden to Baklandet.

A Swedish warship, "*Lammet*," that Stiernsköld had brought up to Trondhjem with him, lay in the harbor and in order sink this, some cannon, which were to act together with the flotilla from Bergen, were set up on Munkholmen.



JACOB
DUE



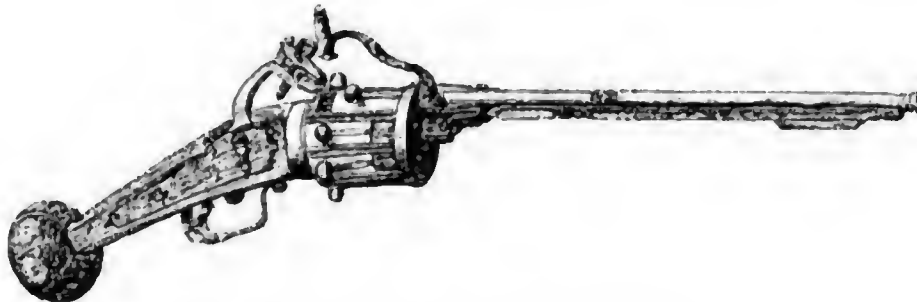
THE SIEGE OF

The Swedes' situation was of course desperate, but their brave leader did not lose courage. He hoped as long as possible for the promised relief force. The Swedish government had also sent a detachment of cavalry under Colonel Drackenberg, but on their arrival at Stene in Verdalen they were waylaid by Major Visborg and had to retreat back across the border again. Oddly enough, no further attempts were made from the Swedish side to relieve Stiernsköld. He therefore finally had to give up and lay down his weapons after a gallant defense, though he had sworn he would rather make soup from his leather britches than surrender Trondhjem.

The surrender officially took place 11 December 1658 on condition of free departure with full military honors.

About a week later the much reduced Swedish garrison left Trondhjem together with the fief's Swedish officials and were escorted to the border by 8 companies of infantry and cavalry.

And Norway was again a contiguous country.



THE WORLD'S OLDEST KNOWN REVOLVER.

(BELONGED TO GEORG VON REICHWEIN AND IS PRESERVED AT THE MUSEUM IN LILLEHAMMER.)

So many resources had been devoted to win back Trondhjem that Jørgen Bielcke had to be content with repulsing Swedish attacks in southern Norway.

It was not an easy task, since all of Båhuslen with its strong fortifications had been turned over to Sweden after the Treaty of Roskilde.

The Norwegian army also had lost the Båhus Regiment except for the Østfold¹ companies, which were combined with the Tønsberg Regiment, which now was re-named the Østfold Regiment.

Bielcke gathered most of his sparse forces at Fredrikstad. The rest was distributed in small detachments at several points near the border. Two companies

¹ "Smaalenene" – approximately the present Østfold in Norway; not to be confused with Småland in Sweden.

of the Østfold Regiment were quartered in Halden – then a small coastal trading post where Svinesund, Iddefjord, and the Tistedal River come together. This open border town was to play a distinguished role in this and later wars with Sweden.

When Carl Gustaf stepped ashore by Korsør 8 August 1658, he had already given Major General Harald Stake orders to invade southern Norway. A corps of 2,500 men was assembled at Högen, and Stake advanced through Enningdalen with this force.

The Swedes arrived at Idd on the 13th of September. The minister Nils Olsson Norman received Stake graciously and told him that Halden was almost defenseless, and the Swedes would meet hardly any resistance.

The general agreed, but thought it best to wait to the next day so that men and horses could rest.

This pause saved Halden – because the minister immediately sent a warning message to his brother Peder Norman, who was a merchant at the trading post and a major in the militia. He consulted his brother-in-law, the customs officer Mathias Bjørn, and led by these two men preparations immediately got under way to give the unbidden guests a warm welcome.

Barricading earthworks were constructed during the night at a place where the main road from Idd led into the town. Soldiers, town citizens, and farmers from the surrounding area worked with a competitive spirit to show what they could do.

The earthworks were fortified with three small cannon that were brought up from a couple of the ships in the harbor. More artillery was expected from Fredrikstad whereto a message had been sent about the Swedish approach.



DITLEV
BROCKDORF

The commander of the Østfold Regiment, Colonel Otto Schade, at once set out with 4 infantry companies and 4 cannon plus a company of dragoons under Captain Ditlev Brockdorff.

Schade marched into Halden early in the morning and shortly thereafter the enemy appeared with flying banners and blaring trumpets.

The Swedes did not expect to meet with any resistance after having heard the minister's appraisal of the situation, but when they got within reach of the artillery at the breastworks the enemy was soon convinced otherwise. A well-directed fire brought their advance to a halt. Angered over this unexpected treatment, Stake sent all his troops forward to attack the position, but in vain.



SVENSKERNES
MISLYKKEDE ANGREB

PAA

SKANSEN VED HALDEN.

THE SWEDES' UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON THE
BREASTWORKS AT HALDEN.

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Again and again the Swedes tried to storm the stronghold, but it was futile. The Norwegian held their position, and after 7 hours of intense fighting Stake had to withdraw with large losses.

Nor did he make any further attempts, but headed home to Sweden while harrying and plundering on the way. Among other victims, Nils Norman got his parsonage burned to the ground as thanks for his excellent advice.

However, this unnecessary rough treatment did not go unpunished, since later in the fall Bielcke and Peder Norman made several forays into Båhuslen and Mathias Bjørn harried the Swedish coast with some fast-sailing small coastal vessels.

*

It was not likely that the Swedes would be content with their first unsuccessful attack on Halden. The town's defenses therefore were hurriedly put in better order. As proposed by Colonel Kress, a well-fortified position was constructed on one of the rocky outcrops where Fredriksten Fortress was built later and the bridge over the Tistedal River, connecting the southern and northern parts of the town, was provided with protective bulwarks.

The expected Swedish attack finally came.

In late January 1659 Major General Stake returned with an army of approximately 4,000 men. This time the Swedes marched across the ice-covered Singelfjord and Skjebergskile to Berg Parish, where Stake set up his headquarters on the farm Lundestad and sent Halden a demand to surrender to which he received a very defiant reply. In hope of conquering the town by a sudden assault, Stake moved against the town's north side on the 4th of February after first having landed a battery on Sauøen to bombard the south side. Jørgen Bielcke had moved his headquarters to Halden a short time before and personally led the defense. The defending force consisted of 1,400 infantry and cavalry soldiers under Colonel Tønne Huitfeldt.

However, the Norwegian position was far from enviable as sickness had made half of the soldiers unfit for combat duty and there were only provisions in the town for a few days. A long siege would therefore have had unhappy consequences, but fortunately the battle did not last any longer than the first time.

The attacking Swedish troops succeeded in entering the town, but when the Swedes came to the bridge breastworks, where Huitfeldt himself commanded, they soon came to a halt. Well-directed fire mowed down their front ranks, among them their leader, Major Andersson, who the previous year had surrendered the forts at Uddevalla to the Norwegians.



Jørgen Huitfeldt
Br.

Fresh troops followed in the steps of the fallen, but these too like their comrades went into the cold waters of the Tistedal River, where the dead and wounded were thrown to make room for the fighting. Enraged by his losses, Stake sent his whole force against the bridge while the battery on Sauøen sent its salvos in over the south side of Halden.

But it was all in vain. Halden's brave defenders did not give an inch – and as unwilling as he might be, Stake had to retreat though this too was easier said than done since the citizens in north Halden had set their houses on fire. However, the Swedes fought their way out through the burning ruins with a long train of wounded comrades.

General Stake vowed to resume the attack the next day, but he apparently had second thoughts after mustering his troops after his return to Lundestad.

The Swedes is said to have brought with them 280 hay sleds to carry the valuables that Halden's inhabitants might have possessed. These hay sleds now came in handy to transport his wounded soldiers when Stake the next day headed home to Sweden.

The Norwegians also had a number of fallen to mourn, among them the brave officer of dragoons, Lieutenant Colonel Otto Urne, who also had participated in the re-conquest of Trondhjem.



OTTE URNE'S ARMS

The people of Halden were still once more during this war to see a superior Swedish force return home from a failed mission.

We may remember that Carl Gustaf shortly after the Battle of Nyborg left Denmark hoping to improve his position by winning victories in the Norwegian theater.

He decided to occupy the Akershus fief in order to force King Friderich to hand over the Trondhjem fief again at the eventual peace settlement.

Carl Gustaf therefore first wanted to conquer Halden, since this town would make a good base for the Swedes' further advance.

It was a very good plan.

However, it had to be carried out, and for this important task Carl Gustaf chose the 70 years old Field Marshal Lars Kagg.

Meanwhile, Halden's defenses had been significantly improved since the last attack. A row of strongholds were constructed on the heights around the south part of the town: *Dragen*, *Øglen*, *Gamleporten*, *Pass paa*, *Braadeland*, *Roland*, *Christianopel*, *Huitsfeldtholmen*, *Kigud*, and *Budde*.

In north Halden the houses remaining after the fire had been torn down, and a redoubt constructed on Rødsberget.

The garrison had been increased to 1,800 men, primarily consisting of the Akershus and Østfold Regiments under the Colonels Otte Schade and Just von Hoven.

After New Years' 1660 Field Marshal Kagg gathered his forces in Båhuslen. He is said to have had about 8,000 men and 12 cannon.

Major General Harald Stake was among the officers under his command – a very knowledgeable man about Halden and vicinity.

The Swedes this time marched over the ice from Helle by Iddefjorden to Asak, where they encamped on January 12th. From here Kagg sent a demand to the commandant in Halden to surrender the town.

However, the Swedes' obvious military superiority did not seem to impress Huitfeldt. It was not that long ago that he had fought the Swedes at the Tista Bridge against greater odds.

Kagg was told that Halden's defenders would fight to the last man, and the town was well provided with all it needed.

Having received this reply, the Swedes advanced against Halden at dawn on the 14th of January 1660.

The enemy's first objective was to take the redoubt at Brådeland. The defenders drove the Swedes back several times, but around noon a soldier dropped a burning fuse down into a powder keg. The enemy stormed the fort during the resulting confusion and gained possession.

If the Swedes were to keep this, Halden would be lost. It was imperative to take the works back immediately, and 3 detachments of Norwegians went to the rescue under Budde, Norman, and Forbus. The attack succeeded – and just in time, since at the same time the Norwegians regained the fort, a larger contingent of the enemy came to help their comrades. The fight at the Brådeland redoubt reignited and lasted for 4 hours. The Swedes then had to retreat to their encampment at Asak having lost several hundred dead and wounded.

During the following week Kagg only engaged in some mock skirmishes in order to tire out the defenders.

The real siege began on the 21st of January. Halden was isolated on all sides, and the field marshal moved his headquarters to Ous. Here he set up a battery that could strafe the redoubt on Rødsberg.

This works was held by 2 companies under Major Forbus. After a couple of days of intense bombardment the Norwegians had to give up the position and withdraw over the ice to south Halden.

The enemy immediately took possession of the works and was barbaric enough to murder some wounded and sick that Forbus had been forced to leave behind.

Kagg now again sent a messenger under a flag of truce to the commandant and threatened with fire and murder if Halden would not surrender immediately. He got the same answer as before, and



JOHAN
FORBUS



THE NORWEGIANS TAKE BACK THE



BRÅDELAND BREASTWORKS AT HALDEN.

then began to bombard the town from Rødsberget with hot shot and mortars. The Norwegians replied in kind and even made several successful sorties.



Jørgen Bielcke

Meanwhile Jørgen Bielcke had made great efforts to come to Halden's relief. He finally assembled a corps of 3,500 men, but half of these were untrained farmers.

When the field marshal got word of Bielcke's approach, he immediately sent a large part of the besieging troops to block the relief force's march to Halden.

The Norwegians and the Swedes met near the Borge church on the 5th of February. The fight raged for several hours. The Swedes got the worst of it, but the Norwegians suffered such great losses that Bielcke had to halt his march to Halden.

While the mass of the Swedish troops were away, the besieged used the opportunity to make a sortie against the part of the enemy's army left on the south side of the town. The attack succeeded over all expectations. The Swedes were driven back to Idd and had to leave behind 2 battle flags and a lot of ammunition in the hands of the Norwegians. Field Marshal Kagg continued the bombardment with increased intensity when his troops returned.

Kagg had hoped that the town's lack of provisions would cause the defenders to give up. He would hardly have been disappointed if the commandant had not got the more prosperous citizens to undertake feeding the soldiers. Thus Peder Norman promised to take care of 207 men, his brother-in-law Mathias Bjørn 175, and others in accordance with their means.

It is said that Norman also sent the Swedish commander a gift of diverse delicacies in order to make him think they still had foodstuffs to spare.

Kagg may have appreciated the gift, since this headquarters at Ous did not feature a luxurious table by any means. The Swedes soon suffered from lack of provisions as badly as the besieged.

The field marshal himself wrote in a letter to the Swedish State Council:

"There have been soldiers, who in the course of 10 days have not tasted a bite of bread or have had other than ice water to drink. The only food available has been meat without salt."

One week followed the other. The bombardment continued interspersed with mutual assaults and repeated demands for Halden's surrender.

An extremely important message from Sweden then was received at the Swedish headquarters – and Field Marshal Kagg at once decided to make a last attempt with all the means at his disposal.

On the 20th of February a dense fog lay over the whole vicinity when the Swedish army marched in close columns against the Brådeland fortifications. They successfully got close in under the breastworks, but the defenders were prepared, and the Swedes got such a hot reception that whole ranks were felled. After an hour of fruitless efforts the enemy had to give up the attempt.

The fog then lifted, and the Swedish officers wanted to attack again, but their soldiers had had enough of the fight and refused to obey.

Field Marshal Kagg realized that it would be impossible for him to conquer the town any time soon, and since he could not continue the siege because of the message he had received from home, he decided to begin his retreat the following day.

In order to avoid carrying with them all the ammunition, which had been intended for the whole campaign, the Swedes fired off a violent bombardment before their departure. During the night they set fire to all the sawmills in the vicinity and then in the morning marched back to Sweden through Enningdalen, burning all the local farms along the way.

The siege of Halden had lasted 6 weeks and it was high time for it to be lifted; the town looked like a gravel pit and there were only 950 men left fit for duty.

But the Swedish losses were at least five times as severe. Field Marshal Kagg had led 8,000 men into Norway. Only 3,000 returned to Sweden and in a miserable condition.

The reason the Swedes lifted the siege of Halden in such a hurry was that the message they had received stated that *King Carl X Gustaf's heroic career had ended at Gothenburg on the 13th of February*.

According to contemporary reports the Swedish king had visited Halden a few days before to urge the siege forward. He was said to have been fatally wounded on a reconnaissance excursion and secretly carried to Gothenburg.

That there may be truth in this rumor is not impossible, but the cause of death is not significant. It was more important that the warrior Carl Gustaf was followed on the throne by an underage son. This made it possible to reestablish peace in Scandinavia and elsewhere in Europe.

The French, Dutch, and English governments helped mediate the Treaty of Copenhagen 27 May 1660. The conditions certainly were severe – but still better than the Roskilde treaty. The Swedes kept the Danish counties Scania, Halland, and Blekinge. The populous county of Båhuslen, rich in memories, was not returned to Norway, but Trøndelagen was retained. The Norwegian people can thank the brave defenders of Halden for this.

If the Swedes had achieved their intent of occupying a large part of the Akershus fief, the re-conquest of Trondhjem would have been of doubtful value. Therefore the succeeding generations owe Tønne Huitfeldt, Peder Norman, Otte Budde, Christian Holberg, Otte Schade, Just v. Hoven, Johan Forbus, and all the

others who participated in the defense of Halden eternal gratitude for their valiant stand.

Carl X Gustaf had dreamed of an amalgamation of the three Scandinavian countries. The results of his efforts were quite to the contrary. Nothing has contributed more to keep them separate from each other.

The union between Denmark and Norway had been as unnatural as possible from the beginning, and the Norwegian people never gained anything but harm and humiliation from it, but when the Swedes embarked on a policy of imperial conquest, the union saved both Norway and Denmark. But from the time of Carl X Gustaf, both Danes and Norwegians began to consider the Swedes as their traditional archenemies.





MEDALLION STRUCK IN MEMORY OF FRIDERICH III'S ACCLAMATION AS
AUTOCRATIC KING OF NORWAY IN CHRISTIANIA IN 1661.

Chapter Eleven

NATIONALISTIC CURRENTS IN NORWAY. INTRODUCTION OF THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY.

Vincent Lunge's contemptuous remark that the Danes could easily "conquer Norway with two caravels and three hundred men" may have been justified at the time of the Reformation. Our neighbors' disdain for our military capabilities must surely have occasioned many bitter thoughts among the few enlightened patriots who knew of Norway's old history.

However, when the Treaty of Copenhagen was concluded, the situation had changed. Lunge's sneer then was a better fit for Denmark. The Danish homeland defense force, which was established at the same time as the Norwegian, had shown itself to be completely useless. The Swedes had driven the Danish army and its noble commanders before them like cattle bound for slaughter.

The Norwegians, on the other hand, had restored their military reputation and made their neighbors on the east respect them. *The Norwegian army now consisted entirely of the country's native sons.* This was the more noteworthy since most European states at that time only had *mercenary troops*.

These hirelings usually came from the lowest outcasts of their respective countries. The Danish mercenary regiments thus are seen to have consisted of men from a very motley collection of nations: Saxons, Poles, Estonians, Bohemians, Dutch, Scots, French, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes.

As long as the mercenary troops were regularly paid, their officers could more or less maintain discipline, but the state often could not fulfill its obligations, and then the civilian population suffered the consequences. All discipline was lost, and it even happened that generals lost battles because their soldiers refused to fight until they were paid.

On one occasion a German prince stated: "If you don't have an excess of money, it is easier to deal with the Devil than these mercenaries!"

A contemporary scribe aptly described them as follows: "They rejoiced at the bad luck of others; feasted on their misfortune, were a burden to all, and no one's gain."

The undisputed military superiority of Denmark over Norway at the time of the Reformation was not due to its population being three times as large, since the same had likely been true in the times of Magnus the Good and Haakon Haakonsson. No, the superiority was primarily due to Denmark's forceful and patriotic feudal nobility. It was these 6 – 800 Danish nobles and their well-armed and disciplined retainers who maintained Denmark's sovereignty during this period, and it was this small number of Danish aristocrats, who by a concerted effort forced their will onto the sparsely populated and leaderless Norway – in the name of the united monarchy.

But when the introduction of firearms put an end to the armored knights' supremacy, the dominance of the Danish nobility also began to diminish, since most of the nobles now found it below their dignity to do military service when the *infantry* became the main military arm.

Meanwhile all warlike spirits had evaporated from the urban middle class as well as the rural population and the national defense therefore soon came to rely entirely on foreign mercenaries.

Of course there were many Danish patriots who found this situation humiliating for their nation. They fully realized how uncertain Denmark's future must be if the country was to rely on conscienceless mercenaries. The Norwegian-born Chancellor Arild Huitfeldt gave telling expression to this painful thought in the foreword to a history of Christian I. Among other things, he wrote:

"As for our military force, it consists of cavalry, foot soldiers, and the royal fleet. I will not speak of the fleet; every man knows it is necessary and that our strength to large extent depends on it, since this country is surrounded by water; but as for our foot soldiers, we have for a long time disdained our own and used foreigners. Our own people are defenseless since the common people have neither muskets nor spears; and this mostly so that they will not shoot game animals. In their place we have hired strangers, who are bought at great expense, by which the country's income from taxes and fees is transferred to foreign countries, and the mercenary troops have eaten us up and carried on worse than an enemy in our peaceful land. What loyalty can a lord or king expect from such people, who sell their lives for money, who do not fight for their native country, hearth, and home, who are friends today and enemies tomorrow, who constantly grumble and disobey orders and thereby often cause a good opportunity to crush the enemy to be missed. A prince or lord should be mindful of this and consider whether it would be better to employ his own men, who would fight vigorously for their homes and families, honor, and happiness. The people would then be less burdened by the taxes and inconveniences of maintaining a military force, and less money would be transferred out of the country. . . .



ARILD HUITFELDT

King Valdemar the Victorious sailed to Livonia with 1,400 ships, conquered Estonia, and spread the Christian faith, for which we still have the white cross in our arms and flag. On each ship he had, besides the twelve *havnebrødre*,¹ a cuirassier, a riding horse, and a crossbowman. Since the *leiðang* system was abolished, we have chased after foreigners. We have not thought to establish a new military defense. Unarmed and listless we sit here and have only money and foreign troops to rely on. But if Your Majesty together with Your council and nobles would consider a means by which this realm could be defended by native foot soldiers, it would be most desirable."

King Christian IV followed Huitfeldt's counsel, but as related above, the Danish homeland defense militia played a sorry role, since now the reverse side of the medallion came to the fore.

¹ *Havnebrødre* – the crew required to man a *leiðang* ship.

That which had been the Danish nation's strength in the first and second century of the union now became the cause of its decline. It now became apparent what it cost the Danish people to support such a numerous pack of highborn gentlemen.

The nobility's moral and economic weight had extinguished all pride and self-esteem among the mass of the people – and soldiers with slave mentality and no self-respect of course were of little use in battle.

Therefore the Danish patriots had to wait a long time before Denmark, like Norway, got a homeland defense manned by its native sons.

Thus Norway and Denmark in military respects had exchanged roles since the Reformation, and the Norwegians heard this from both foreigners and the Danish government. It became an acknowledged fact that the free Norwegian farmers made the best soldiers and that the best navy seamen came from Norway.

Such praise served to significantly strengthen the national self-esteem.

In addition, since the Reformation, Norway had gained significantly on its union counterpart with regard to both population and economic development. In 1536 Denmark's population was about 3 times as large as Norway's, but after the Treaty of Copenhagen the ratio was only as 2 to 1. At the same time the ratio between the two countries' urban populations had gone from 10 to 1 to 3 to 1. The latter was largely due to the strong upturn in Norway's merchant marine and commerce after the Dutch broke up the Hanseatic League's trade monopoly in the northern seas.

The Norwegian merchants also found a good market for their lumber trade in Holland. As the Dutch economy grew, the use of Norwegian wood products rose to an undreamed of magnitude, and from the early 17th century on, the lumber industry could be counted among Norway's most important economic resources.

The mining industry had also made significant progress.

Denmark's economy, on the other hand, had been in steady decline since the Reformation.

In addition, the country had time and again been invaded by its enemies, who accordance with the practice of the times robbed and plundered to their hearts' content, it is readily understood why Norway in 1660 was a much more equal partner in the Union than in 1536.

It would therefore be astonishing if one Norwegian or another did not begin to wonder about Norway's relative standing in the Union. It must certainly have appeared odd to many that the militarily superior Norway should be regarded as a

vassal state of the smaller and defenseless Denmark. We have evidence in several cases of such thoughts being bruited about; one instance being in the debate about the inheritability of the Norwegian crown.

Remember that before the Kalmar Union, the political demands of the Norwegian people had sunk down to only one thing – to be governed by their rightful hereditary king.

In order to ensure the allegiance of the Norwegians, the Danish nobility therefore were careful to "elect" kings who were related to the old Norwegian royal line, and when the House of Oldenburg ascended to the throne of the united kingdoms, sons regularly succeeded their fathers – quite in accordance with Saint Olaf's law of inheritance, which for the sake of appearances remained standing unchanged in the old Norwegian law of the land.

This political sham was entirely successful. The leaderless Norwegian common people had insufficient political sophistication to understand that their kings did not come to the throne by the old hereditary principle – but instead were chosen by the Danish nobility.

Christian III's coronation charter was not officially published, and the Norwegians therefore was for a long time ignorant of the charter's paragraph 3 in which the Norwegian hereditary king promised the Danish nobility that Norway in the future should not be, or be called, a separate kingdom, but be consigned to the crown of Denmark until the end of time.

Nor were the provisions specifying Norway's status included in later coronation charters, but then Arild Huitfeldt brought them up in his "History of Christian III" in which he stated that at the national assembly in 1536 "something harsh and severe was bargained with the Norwegians; that they for the future should not have their own government, but be governed as another province of Denmark."

As a kind of excuse for the Danish nobility's arrogant behavior he found it necessary to add: "As privileges and freedoms are won by faithful service, so they are also lost when something contrary is done."

Huitfeldt's chronicle was not widely distributed in Norway, but those who read the paragraphs in the coronation charter, and especially Huitfeldt's insulting remark, without resentment must have lacked all sense of political shame, since, if there was anything that the Norwegians of that time prided themselves on, it was their loyalty – we may even say dog-like loyalty – to their royal house.

But although only a limited circle read Huitfeldt's chronicle, the Danish Council of State in its heedlessness managed to see to it that the Norwegian people's illusions with respect to the hereditability of the crown were torn away.

In 1664 Christian IV's Norwegian Law, which essentially was a translation of King Magnus *Lagabøter*'s laws, was published, the part about the crown being hereditary was omitted, and in its place the following words were inserted:

"... and whichever lord or prince that Denmark's council, nobility, and estates elect to be Denmark's king shall also be king of Norway."

So now the Norwegians could read in their own law book that it was as Denmark's *elected king* and not as their *rightful hereditary king* that the union kings governed the kingdom of Norway.

But the Oldenburgers *themselves* had never given up their title of "rightful heir to Norway," and Christian IV often made it clear that he sympathized with the Norwegian view despite the false statement in the law book.

In the last year of his reign he allowed Hannibal Sehested to rule Norway with almost royal authority and this was undoubtedly in order to provide his inherited Norwegian dominion – and thus also himself – a more independent position versus the Danish State Council.

The Danish nobility naturally did not view the degree of independence that Norway won under Hannibal Sehested's long tenure as viceroy favorably, and when Friderich III during the negotiations over his coronation charter threatened to move to his inherited domain in Norway if the State Council raised their conditions for electing him too high, the Danish lords became alarmed by the specter of Norwegian independence.

They even tried to get the office of viceroy, which had been established in 1570, abolished, but it did not go any farther, since they became concerned not to add to the discontent that now was on the rise in Norway in response to the Danish aristocrats' shameless behavior.

The awakening national sentiment also was expressed in the assembly that was called together in Christiania in 1648 to acclaim Friderich III's accession to the throne.

Konungstekja, or the acclamation, which from the time of Haakon the Good had been the Norwegian people's ceremonial confirmation of a king's accession, still was required by the law of the land, but of course had lost most of its old significance.

The assembly – the so-called Norwegian estates – consisted of 23 nobles, all the bishops and judges, representatives of the towns and the rest of the clergy, and around 600 freehold farmers. The solemn acclamation ceremony was to take place on the 24th of August. However, the day before a meeting had been held in the old Trinity Church. The proceedings here were opened by the Danish chancellor Christen Sehested with a long speech in which he on behalf of the Danish State Council informed the attendees of the royal election in Copenhagen a month earlier. He quite neglected to mention that the new Norwegian book of laws provided that the Danish decision also decided the election for the Norwegians. Instead he politely apologized for the Norwegian estates not having been called to Copenhagen for the royal election. It was due to "the pressing time constraints," said Sehested.

This acknowledgment of the Norwegians right to elect their king certainly cleverly designed, but the Norwegian estates no longer would be content with evasive excuses.

They forcefully asserted the old law of hereditary royal succession, and Norway's chancellor Jens Bielcke of Austråt sharply emphasized in his answering speech that when the Norwegian estates acclaimed Duke Friderich, it was "as the rightful hereditary lord and king of the Norwegian realm." No one had a closer claim to the throne.

Christen Sehested prudently enough did not dispute this assertion, and this shows that the Danish State Council now was seriously concerned about an alliance between the crown and the Norwegian people, since such a union would mean the end of the Danish State Council's authority in Norway.

The stance taken by the Norwegian estates on this occasion undoubtedly influenced the king's firm actions when in the following year a question arose about electing his son, Prince Christian, as heir apparent. Friderich III insisted that



JENS BIELCKE

this action could only be taken with respect to Denmark, as Norway would be the prince's realm by inheritance.

However, this the Danish nobility would not stand for. The king therefore tried to go around the question and proposed at the national assembly in Copenhagen that the text in the prince's certification of election should state that the heir apparent was elected to "this crown," instead of as earlier to "these lands and realms." The clergy and most of the burgher representatives acceded to the king's wishes, but the nobility nevertheless elected the prince the future king of both realms.



THE GREAT SEAL OF KING FRIDERICH III.

The negotiations between Friderich III and the Danish nobility were also attentively followed in Norway. A memorandum presented to the king by a Norwegian testifies to this.

The author began by stating that "he had left his homeland because he could not stand seeing the serfdom that Denmark would impose on Norway, which before had been a free and independent country, but now had become a mere

province, dependent on the crown of Denmark. The dishonor that had befallen his homeland had caused him unspeakable heartache, and he now hoped that the king would return to Norway its old independence and use the right of inheritance he had been given by God and nature."

The author then urged the king to win over the Norwegian estates and with their help stage a coup by which he could claim Norway as his inherited domain, separate the Norwegian administration from the Danish, and establish a new union between the kingdoms.

Another disquisition, written on the occasion of Prince Christian's acclamation in Christiania in 1656, expresses the same national sentiment, and since it presumably was written with the king's personal encouragement, shows that the notion of a coup had not fallen on barren ground.

The author first went through all of Norway's history from Harald Haarfagre onward to show that Norway *always had been and still was* a hereditary kingdom. Therefore the Danes could not possibly be correct in their insistence that he who was elected king of Denmark should also be Norway's king. It might be said with better justification that he who was chosen king in Norway should also be king of Denmark.

The author then goes on to express himself in the most heartfelt indignant terms about the Danish State Council's treatment of the Norwegians. He cited Huitfeldt's remarks about Paragraph 3 in King Christian III's coronation charter and added:

"This Huitfeldt rightfully called a harsh and severe bargain since it cannot be defended before either God or Norway's heirs and inhabitants. It is a wonder that the *Nordbagger*¹ who find out about this do not immediately fall away from the Danes and from the union established between the realms, and that it has not caused a bloody war between the kingdoms with great losses of life. Every fair-minded reader will note here how shameful and deplorably the Danes have broken the union and concord that had been made between the realms. Is this the unanimity and special love that the inhabitants of one realm were to show the other according to the declaration of the union?"

The author thereafter explains that the resolution of the Danish national assembly in 1536 was invalid and had no binding force for the Norwegians, who

¹ *Nordbagger* – The Norwegian fjord horse breed, and also a derogatory term for Norwegians, especially *Norrbage* in Swedish.

had never acceded to it. Of course the Danes had no right to choose the king of Norway.

"And if the Danes will try to rule Norway with force and violence, then Norway's rightful heirs as well as all its inhabitants have accepted and rightful grounds to set force against force and defend their hereditary realm, privileges, and freedoms with their swords. Norway certainly could offer Denmark battle if need be, and the Danes would soon regret what their arrogance had given occasion to and brought forth."

This kind of speech must have grated in the ears of the high officials of the Danish State Council, but that the king read it with pleasure is demonstrated by the reward the author received.

The Norwegian opinion in the royal succession question was also his, and backed by the Norwegians he could proceed more confidently with his plan to get his humiliating coronation charter set aside. If his fight against the State Council's overreaching authority should lead to its members refusing him their good faith and loyalty he would have a secure refuge in Norway, and with the backing of his inherited Norwegian subjects it would hardly be difficult to force the Danish State Council into submission.

These considerations must surely have been among the major reasons the ultra-cautious Friderich III ventured to enter into open conflict with the State Council after the peace treaty with Sweden.

As supreme commander of the army and navy, the king had worked slowly and cautiously toward his goal of gathering the reins of government into his own hands.

Without asking the State Council he decided one matter of state policy after the other, and the councilors were obliged to close their eyes because they knew most of the army and navy officers stood on the king's side.

The barons hoped that they would be able to force the king to abide by the text of the charter after the peace treaty was concluded, since the king would have to discharge most of the wartime military forces once the war ended. But then the miserable economic condition of the country became Friderich's rescue.

The Danish government had been in difficulties for lack of money already at the time of his coronation, and one may imagine what the state of its finances was like after the destructive wars with Carl X Gustaf. Denmark was simply "sick unto death," as the Swedish ambassador Durell wrote in a report to his government.

The peace relieved the country of Polish, Austrian, Prussian, and Dutch mercenaries – but the native army and navy could not be gotten rid of due to the lack of money. This crowned the cake of misery.

Neither enlisted men nor officers had been paid their salaries during the war, and the debt now grew by the day. Housing and provisions had to be furnished for them, and they would take by force what was not supplied if there was anything to be found.

The pressure from these unpaid defenders of liberty soon became unbearable, but since new taxes could not be imposed without the nobility's assent, the State Council had to leave the military establishment standing until the national assembly could meet – and this was just what the king wanted.

Under these conditions a national assembly was called together in Copenhagen on September 8th, 1660. The gathering consisted of ca. 200 nobles, clergy, and burghers – the Danish farmers had such low standing in society that there was not even a mention of allowing them any representation.



The nobility appeared with apprehension, since they knew that the masses saw the nobles' domination of the government as the source of all the misfortunes that had lately befallen the country. The people believed it was not the king, but the nobility who was at fault for Denmark having gone to war with Sweden. The brave conduct of the king and queen during the siege of Copenhagen also brought a large part of the population to look favorably upon the crown. It was a common belief across the country that the king would try to break the nobility's tyranny.

During the reigns of Christian III and Friderich II, the people had by and large looked favorably on the nobility's dominance, since it then was inspired by patriotism and faithfulness as the famous Herluf Trolle expressed so well with these words:

"Why are we lords? Why do we wear gold chains and own landed estates and want to be considered better and more esteemed than others? It is because, when king and country have need of it, we will fight against the enemies of the realm and defeat them. If we want the sweet, we must accept the sour that goes with it; if we wish to enjoy the benefits of the country, we must not shrink from danger when it appears."

But under Christian IV the ethos changed, especially after Denmark's unfortunate participation in the Thirty Years' War. It now became very apparent that the nobles neither fulfilled their obligations as the nation's defenders nor were paragons of cultural development. The latent resentment of the nobles' extraordinary privileges now came to the surface and the wars with Carl X Gustaf finally made the cup run over.

While the nobility in the old days had been like the great trees in the forest – a shelter for the common people in society – it was now like an immense parasitic plant that sucked up the lifeblood of the country.

The forces that once had given the nobility its reasons for existence had disappeared – its lifespan in history was coming to an end.



BISHOP HANS SVANE

The nobility were now to meet with the lower estates in the national assembly and confer about means to alleviate the worst of the country's problems. The nobility did not have a single person it could form up around, while the clergy and the burghers could put forward such leaders as Zealand's bishop, the astute and eloquent Hans Svane, and Hans Nansen, the mayor of Copenhagen.

The king first proposed a consumption tax that all the estates would be subject to, but that the nobility absolutely refused to even listen to. They adamantly insisted on their freedom from taxation.

The clergy and the burghers then joined together and put forth several proposals for changing the internal government of the country. Among other things, they proposed that the fiefs should be taken from the nobles and auctioned off to the highest bidders or be governed by appointed officials. The noble representatives then became more accommodating, but it was already too late.

The hostile sentiment against the nobility had already risen so high that any compromise was out of the question.

Friderich III now struck while the iron was hot. His close friends Svane and Nansen presented a proposal to turn *Denmark* into a *hereditary kingdom*. The proposal was immediately accepted by all the representatives of the allied estates.

However, the nobility and the State Council were of course adamantly opposed, since the right to choose a king and dictate the coronation charter was the main sources of the nobility's power. The noble representatives even threatened to break up the national assembly and return to their homes, but then the gates to Copenhagen were closed, no one was allowed to leave the city without a pass from the mayor, and on the 10th of October the garrison was ordered to stand ready. The nobles now were in a bind.



HANS NANSEN

The mood in the national assembly in those days is vividly expressed by the story about Nansen and the state councilor Otte Krag meeting in the streets of Copenhagen. The latter asked Nansen: "Do you know what that is?" and pointed toward the Blue Tower – the prison for high treason. "But do you know what hangs in there?" replied the undaunted Nansen as he looked up at the storm bell in the tower on the Church of Our Lady – which would be rung to call the citizens to arms.

The nobles now realized that they would have to bend to the superior forces arrayed against them, and the next day Friderich was acclaimed as the hereditary king of Denmark by all the estates.

Norway was not mentioned, since the king and the Norwegians both maintained that Norway already was a hereditary kingdom.

The humiliating charter that Friderich had been obliged to sign on his accession to the throne was of course now set aside, and the national assembly now had to work out a new constitution.

However, they could not come to agreement about what form this should take – the king and his most ardent supporters saw to that – and Bishop Svane then proposed "that this should entirely be left to the king himself to decide what the new law should be."

Regrettably, trust in Friderich had now risen so high that this proposal was accepted.

The Danish people gave up their right to a voice in their government from that moment on, and before Christmas this disgraceful national assembly, which came to have such significant impact for both the Danish and Norwegian people, was dissolved.



MEDALLION COMMEMORATING THE INTRODUCTION OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY IN DENMARK.

Instead of the promised constitution a document called "The Act of Inheritance and Sovereignty" was published on 10 February 1661. This document was sent around the country and had to be signed by all the heads of noble families, all prelates, and some of the most prominent burghers.

The document stated that the signers swore they of their own free will had offered the king the right of inheritance and absolute rule as an autocratic sovereign lord.

It surely had been far from the national assembly's intent to give the king the power of autocratic rule, but it was now too late to regret that they had offered Friderich III a free hand.

Of course the absolute monarchy was also to be introduced in Norway. By a royal message of 16 November 1660, the Norwegian people was informed that the king intended to introduce a form of government, which "for him and his heirs would ensure his inherited subjects a mild and Christian regimen."

Shortly thereafter the Norwegian estates were called to an acclamation convention in Christiania, and on 7 August 1661, the Norwegian Act of Inheritance and Sovereignty was promulgated.

The change in government did not meet with any resistance from the Norwegian nobles. Though they may have shared their Danish brethren's dismay with the development, they must have managed to hide it, since it was reported "that all estates received the news with the greatest pleasure and joy."

The Norwegian people also had grounds for being pleased with the change in government, since Norway from now on would be freed from the Danish State Council's interference in Norwegian affairs.

The State Council had generally treated Norway as a "*ladegård*" – a kind of haven where they could offload their poorer relatives and friends, and their lack of interest in the welfare of the Norwegian people was aptly expressed by the Swedish ambassador Durell when he wrote about the Danish nobility: "It did not wish Norway to become so prosperous that the king would rely too much on it."

The Danish State council was dissolved with the introduction of the absolute monarchy. The new hereditary crown belonged to both nations, and *both realms from then on were governed under the same legal authority*.

New life was also blown into the seemingly expired Act of Union from 29 August 1450. Denmark would no longer constitutionally rank ahead of Norway, but it was for the Norwegians to bring this equality principle from paper into real life, and we also see that the awakening national feeling lead to some feeble attempts in that direction.

At the acclamation convention in Christiania, the representatives for the market towns presented a petition with 37 paragraphs. Besides the problems and desires that only concerned the towns themselves, the document also contained several demands that showed the burgher representatives also looked out for the welfare of the *entire* country.

Among other things, it was requested that in the future, Norwegians should be preferred for appointments as officers in the Norwegian army, that Norway should get its own commerce department, its own judiciary, and finally, its own university – "which could be accomplished without great cost to Your Majesty

and be a glorious adornment for the country and of excellent utility and benefit for Your Majesty's subjects."

The clergy also submitted a petition that sounded national sentiments.

However, Friderich III neither could nor would pay a great deal of attention to the Norwegians' patriotic desires, since *they stood in sharp opposition to the centralization of government authority that was the absolute monarchy's primary guiding principle.*

After the Danish nobility had been so deeply humiliated and had shown so little power of opposition, Friderich and his German courtiers no longer had need of Norwegian patriotism. The king probably felt that the Norwegians should be content that they now were put on an equal footing with the Danes on paper at least. Nor had the Norwegians' patriotism become so much stronger than that they acquiesced to the rejection, and it regrettably took a long time before the monarchy again was confronted with patriotic demands from the Norwegian side.

*

When Friderich III was advised of the estates' decision to leave the working out of a new constitution in the hands of the king, he replied – that he surely would know how to do this to everyone's satisfaction.

However, the people, who so trustfully had placed their interests in the hands of the king, were disappointed. The hope of getting a representative constitution endured for some time, but in 1665 it was completely extinguished when Friderich signed the so-called Royal Law, or *Lex Regia*, which remained Norway's constitution until 1814 and Denmark's until 1849.

The Royal Law probably was written under king's personal supervision by the young jurist Peter Schumacher.

This wonderful constitution, which made the Union king the most absolute ruler in Europe, consisted of 40 paragraphs, the second of which stated:

"The hereditary king of Denmark and Norway shall hereafter be and of all subjects be held and respected as the most excellent and highest prince here on earth over all human laws, who does not acknowledge any other prince or judges over him in either ecclesiastical or worldly matters, except God alone."

The following paragraphs go on in the same tone and, so there should not be anything left out of all the glory in which the Oldenburgers should live in hereafter, §26 commands that:

"All that can be said or written in praise of an absolute, sovereign, Christian hereditary king shall also be ascribed to Denmark's and Norway's autocratic hereditary king and shall be set forth and explicated in the most graceful and best style."

Out of consideration for the people this priceless document was not officially published until 1709. The new government was realistic enough to see that a good many years would have to pass before the disillusioned people had become so dulled and subservient that it would swallow so rank a pill.

According to the Royal Law the character of the government should hereafter be *unlimited monarchy* to the fullest extent of this concept.

However, in practice it became mostly *bureaucratic*, since the government of the united realms was essentially delegated to *collegia*, or departments.

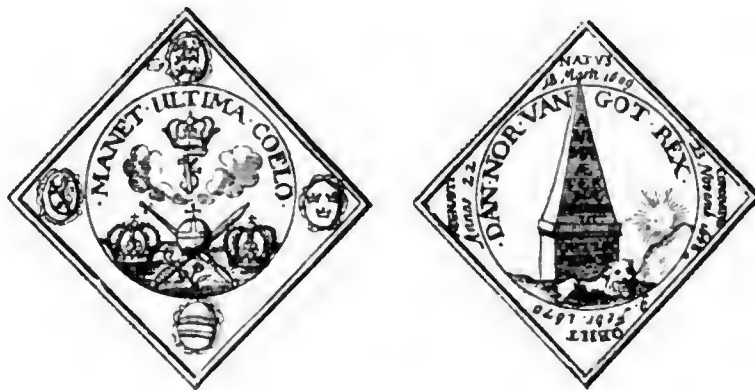
The State Department was to take care of the kingdoms' foreign interests. The War Department and the Admiralty took over the management of the army and navy. The Treasury took care of the finances. Ecclesiastical and educational affairs and the judiciary were placed under the Chancellery.

The *collegia* got both executive and legislative authority, but the final decisions lay in the king's hands.

The system of fiefs and feudal lords was also abolished, and the lords' authority transferred to royal appointees called *amtmen* (county administrators).

The income from the former fiefs is said to have risen to the fivefold and since the nobility, which in Denmark owned half of the landed property, now also had to pay taxes, the government soon got most of its financial difficulties under control.

The honor for getting these great reforms actually set into practice primarily was due to Peter Schumacher, who under the name Griffenfeld has won his place in history as Denmark's and Norway's greatest statesman.





Chapter Twelve

THE "GYLDENLØVE WAR"

The feudal system had its historical mission. Absolute monarchy also got its time in the sun. For a while at least, it was the bearer of culture and progressive development. The idea of the absolute monarchy that King Louis XIV of France represented in such a brilliant manner spread all over Europe.

Friderich III could hardly be compared to his great French model – and his successor Christian V still less, but behind these mediocre rulers stood a row of competent men with Griffenfeld in the van, and under their leadership the ship of state began to make better way than ever before.

Before the absolute monarchy was introduced it looked like the double monarchy might be near to breaking up, but when Friderich III went to his forefathers in 1670, the united kingdoms had already become a power to be reckoned with in Europe because the increased state income had been used to improve the military establishment.

It was not necessary to fear a Swedish attack since Sweden's government had more than enough to deal with in bringing order into the mess Carl X Gustaf left

behind him – and enrich themselves in the process – but no one could predict what direction Swedish policy would take when Carl XI came of age. It would therefore be prudent to prepare in time.



Prinsse

There also was a large faction that hoped to get restitution for all the misfortunes that Sweden's aggressive wars had brought the united kingdoms.

These thoughts of national revanche became stronger when Christian V ascended the throne. The army and navy budgets were doubled, and the war-minded king would surely soon have found a pretext for breaking the Treaty of

Copenhagen – if Griffenfeld had not been entrusted with leading the foreign ministry.



KING CHRISTIAN V'S GREAT SEAL (obverse) .

The great statesman realized the necessity for a strong military – but only to defend the kingdoms' neutrality. France's ambitious autocratic ruler had already shown what he had in mind, and Griffenfeld understood that the alliance that Holland, England, and Sweden had formed in 1688 to put a stop to French dreams of conquest soon would be broken up by Louis XIV's wily diplomats. When this came about, it was very probable that France's aggressive policies would bring about a European war.

.However, it was still possible that Europe could be spared this calamity – if all of Scandinavia united in fending it off.

Therefore Griffenfeld sought an alliance with the hereditary enemy Sweden, and if he had achieved that – well, then many sorrows might have been averted.



CHRISTIAN V'S GREAT SEAL (reverse).

The regency government in Sweden had split into two factions. Both wanted peace, since after the death of Carl X Gustaf Sweden's military power had been significantly degraded so that it no longer bore any relation to the major power role that the impoverished country was obliged to play. However, there was a great deal of dissension about *the manner* in which appearances could be kept up.

One faction led by Johan Gyllenstierna and Matthias Biörnkloou had an unbiased and clear-sighted view like Griffenfeld. It had also been these gentlemen who had carried through the alliance with England and Holland, and if they had

also managed to solve the state's financial squeeze, their Scandinavian policy might have won out. However, as long as the members of the regency council were united in seizing as much of the crown estate as possible for themselves there could of course not be any way to bring order to the finances. But still it was an absolute necessity to find money – a lot of money.



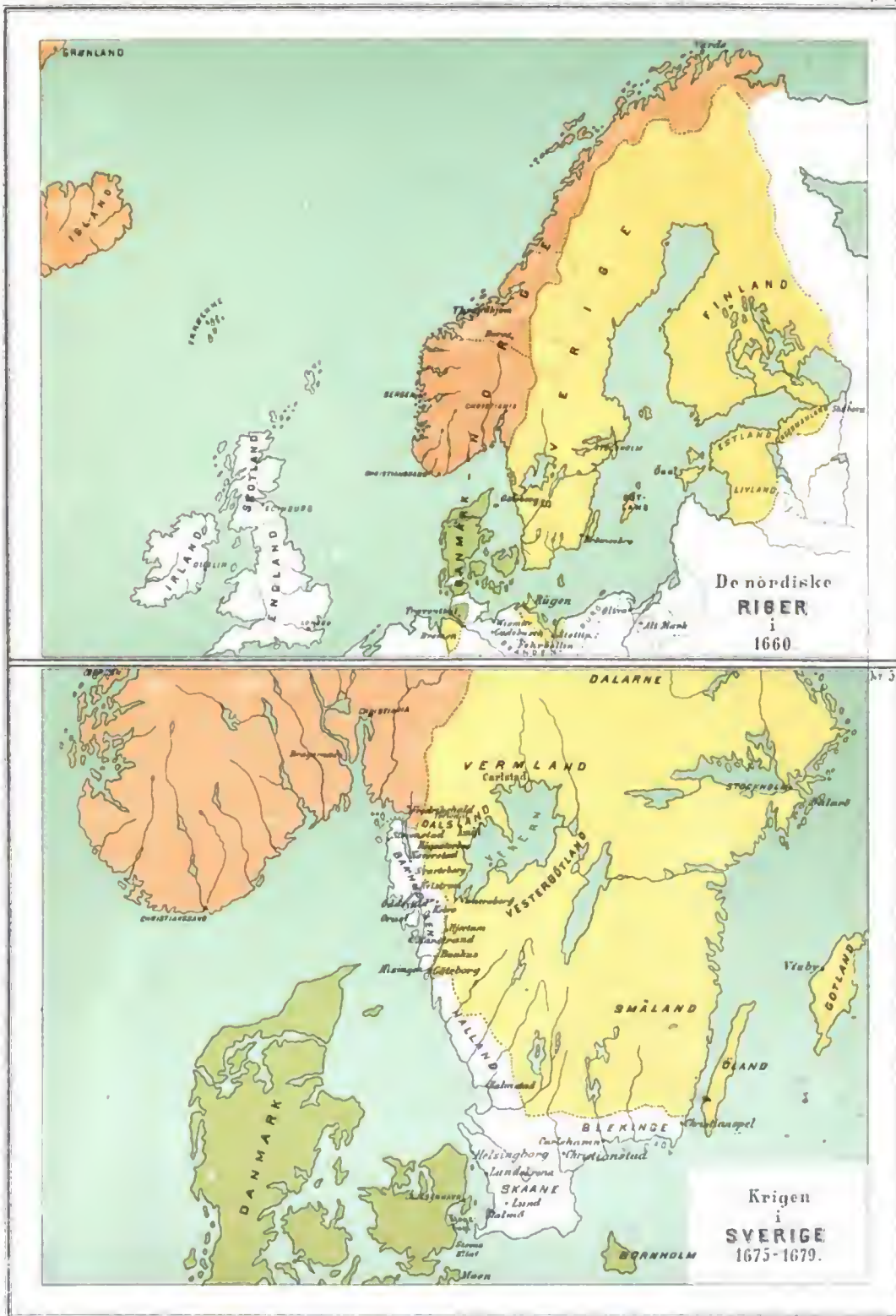
JOHAN GYLLENSTIERNA

It was a costly amusement to play the role of a major power, and none of these illustrious Swedish gentlemen wished to play it from their own pockets. Just the garrisons stationed in the lands conquered in the previous wars swallowed most of the state income.

It is therefore no wonder that the lack of money soon became the driving force in Swedish foreign policy. It aimed at acquiring allies who could, and would, pay well for Sweden's friendship. This was not difficult, since the memory of Gustaf Adolf's and Carl Gustaf's victorious campaigns still were fresh in European memories.

Louis XIV especially found it essential to get Sweden brought over to his side, since he had formed a plan for conquering Holland. It was the Dutch who had arranged the alliance that in 1688 had set a limit to his expansionary greed and for that he wanted revenge.

With large sums of money and pretty mistresses, Louis had already got silent assent from Holland's ally, the disgraceful King Charles II of Great Britain, for the assault on Holland, but since the other European powers would hardly look at the demise of Holland with indifference, it would be well to find a watchman who could keep unwanted company away while the murder was committed – of course in return for a nice fee.



THE WAR IN SWEDEN, 1675 - 1679.

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Louis thought that Sweden – Holland's other ally – could best fulfill this honorable function. He was well acquainted with the regency's financial affairs, and if the Swedish government could be persuaded to send a strong army detachment to Germany – then the game would be halfway won.

France's envoy in Stockholm got orders to begin the operation. French gold flowed into the Swedish officials' capacious pockets, and the effects were not long in showing themselves. French sympathies rose, Gyllenstierna and Biörnklo'u's faction lost ground, and State Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie and his adherents got the upper hand in the regency council.

The state chancellor hated everything Norwegian or Danish, and when the Swedish government agreed a treaty with France in 1672, Louis XIV even had to commit to not admitting Denmark-Norway into the alliance without Sweden's express approval.

Louis then thought he could confidently proceed toward his goal. By raising his contribution to Charles II's bottomless private coffers and offering Great Britain a share of the spoils, he even got promise of direct help, and according to the signed treaty the Swedish government was to send an army of 16,000 men into Germany —

but he was so impatient to teach the Dutch "hawkers" a lesson that he did not wait for the Swedish troops to get there.

The French army broke into Holland in three columns, and the thrifty trading nation had never been less prepared. Abandoned by its "cavalierly" allies the demise of Holland seemed certain, but the young *stadtholder*, William III of Orange, became his homeland's savior. The scenes from the fight for freedom from Spain repeated themselves.

The levees were breached to flood the flat country – and the French army had to retreat.



CHARLES II OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Holland also got assistance. The Swedish government hesitated in sending their troops to Germany, and when the Dutch succeeded in winning the Roman Emperor, Spain, and Brandenburg over to their side, the French got enough to do with protecting their own borders.



WILLIAM III OF ORANGE.

In his distress, Louis sent an *envoy extraordinaire* to Stockholm to speed up the Swedish expedition, but the regents no longer fancied getting mixed up in the war when it had taken such a turn. They were happy enough to receive their annual contributions from France – but fulfilling their commitments was a different matter. The state treasury was still as empty as ever, and the warlike atmosphere at the Danish-Norwegian court had to be taken into consideration.

To be sure, King Christian V still let himself be guided by Griffenfeld, but the great minister had innumerable enemies envious of his power. He might fall into disfavor, and then a war with Denmark-Norway was inevitable.

The French envoy was desperate. All hope for help from Sweden seemed lost, but then he got the bright idea of turning to Carl XI, who just had come of age. The wily diplomat appealed to the immature youngster's sense of honor and told him about the treaty that his guardians had concluded in 1672, and that did the trick.



Without asking the Chancellor or the State Council the young king promised that Sweden would meet its commitments as soon as possible.

The French envoy was ecstatic, and his king had given him a free hand to be generous. He gave the Swedish government the necessary funds to outfit the troops, they were shipped over to Germany, and in December 1674 the Swedish army invaded Brandenburg under the elderly Field Marshal Carl Gustaf Wrangell.



LOUIS IV.

Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, known in history as "The Great Elector," initially chose to leave his lands in the hands of the Swedes. He established his winter quarters in Franconia and from there exerted all of his diplomatic influence to get Christian V to declare war on Sweden.

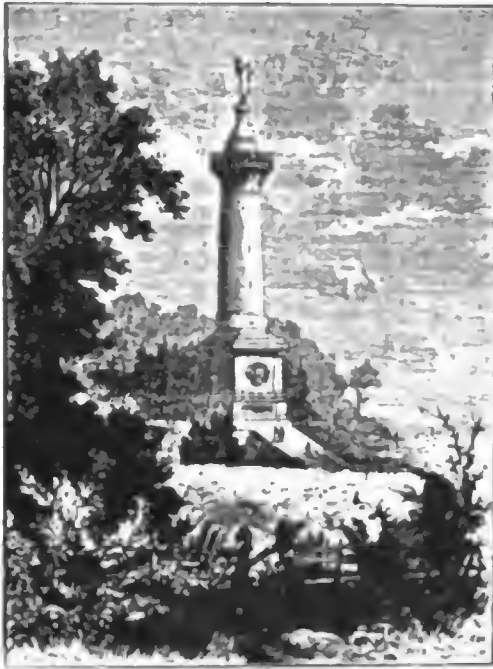
But Griffenfeld was still able to keep the war faction at bay, and the elector realized that he would have to do something *himself* before there could be any hope of getting help from King Christian.



FREDERIK WILHELM, ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG.

And luck was with him. The Brandenburger troops secretly left Franconia and caught the twice as strong Swedish army by surprise at Fehrbellin on June 18, 1675.

Wrangell did not lose a lot of men – only about 3,000 – but the moral effect of the defeat was huge. The awe that Gustaf Adolf and Carl Gustaf's victories had brought the Swedish army disappeared like dew before the sun, and Prussian historians usually count the rapid rise of Brandenburg and Prussia from the Battle of Fehrbellin, since this victory erased the boundaries that the Treaty of Westphalia had set around Brandenburg.



VICTORY MONUMENT AT
FEHRBELLIN.

Friedrich Wilhelm knew how to exploit his victory in a brilliant manner. Before June was out Brandenburg was cleared of enemies – and now even Griffenfeld could not stop King Christian from drawing the united kingdoms into the turmoil of the conflict. A bloody war was again to augment the unnatural national hate between the Scandinavian peoples.

I will here give a short overview of Denmark's and Norway's military forces.

After absolute monarchy had been introduced, another try was made at establishing a national army in Denmark, but since nothing was done to improve conditions for the downtrodden farmers, these native troops did not amount to much.

When the war broke out this untrained militia consisted of 9,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry.

The core of the Danish army still consisted of foreign mercenaries, mostly Germans. After Christian V ascended the throne, one regiment after the other was hired, and in that way Denmark in 1675 could field an army of 31,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, led by many experienced generals. Almost all the officers were German, and if the non-native Union kings could have used Germans to man the fleet, the navy would probably have been "Germanized" as well.

The navy had not played any large role during the wars with Carl Gustaf – it was much too weak for that – but after absolute monarchy was introduced, the government also began restoring its seaborne defense forces.



Since Friderich III did not trust any Danish noble with the overall command of the navy, the Norwegian Henrich Biélcke became Lord High Admiral. Biélcke had been educated as an army officer, but to assist him the king appointed another Norwegian, Cort Sivertssøn Adeler, who had won European fame in the Venetian Republic's naval battles with the Turks. He was called home in 1663 and appointed General-Admiral – as the navy's second in command was called at that time.



L. M. J. de la Roche



Emil Juel

Friderich III appointed a man who was Danish, but born in Norway as head of the navy yards – Niels Juell, who would win immortal fame in this war.

Under the energetic leadership of this three-leaf clover the maritime defenses were organized as demanded by the times. In the last years of Friderich III's reign the navy budget had been tight, since the new land fortifications and army regiments gobbled up most of the money available for military purposes. Christian V, on the other hand, showed more interest in upgrading the fleet. The navy budget more than doubled, and since so many ships could not be built at the Holmen yards in Copenhagen, the construction of several ships was contracted out to private yards in Norway and Holstein. The navy list for 1675 thus became an impressive sight. The Danish-Norwegian sea power then counted 31 large ships of which 16 carried from 50 to 90 cannon.

The personnel was estimated at ca. 10,000 men, but since many Norwegian seamen sailed in Dutch or English service, the actual number serving in the Danish-Norwegian navy probably was smaller.

In contrast to Denmark, Norway still was fortunate enough to have its own national army with admirable traditions from the last several wars. It had begun to become popular, and this became extraordinarily important.



A PART OF CORT ADELERS'S VICTORY TROPHY FROM THE SEA BATTLE IN
THE DARDANELLES.



CORT ADELER'S LETTER OF AWARD FROM THE VENETIAN GOVERNMENT.

Joannes Pisauero, by the *Grace of God Doge of Venice, etc.*, declares to all officials in this our State of Venice, especially chancellors of the exchequer and their present and future employees. The knight CURT CERUISEN has given such excellent evidence of his bravery and faithful service in the last battle in the Dardanelles that We feel ourselves obliged to give him a proof of the State's appreciation. Therefore We on the 15th of this month agreed with the Senate to award him an annual pension of fourteen hundred ducats good value as long as he lives, and his heirs for three generations, so that he can discern the State's gratitude and be encouraged to continue to exhibit the same bravery and courage in his service. We therefore order with the authority given Us by the Senate to pay him the pension in the above mentioned amount.

Given in Our ducal palace the 28h of February 1658.

FRANCESCO RONCA

Secretary

After the absolute monarchy was introduced, the government also soon made changes in the development of the Norwegian military forces. The army still lacked an organized cavalry branch, and in 1662 a committee was therefore appointed to work out a plan for organizing a national cavalry. However, the members could not come to agreement on a joint proposal, and the army would probably have had to be content with its mercenary dragoons if the top commander, General Claus von Ahlefeld, had not got the War Department to approve a plan that he had worked out himself. It provided that a *rytterlæg* should be established, each *læg* formed of one or more farms with a total *skyld* of 20 *rigsdaler*.¹ The *lægder* should be exempt from all other taxes or fees and conscription into the infantry.



Claus von
Ahlefeld

3 cavalry companies were established in Akershus, 1 in Tønsberg and Brunlaug, 1 in Skien and Nedenæs, and 3 in Norway north of the mountains.

When Ulrich Friedrich Gyldenløve was appointed viceroy in Norway in 1664, the paymaster general tried to persuade him to abolish the new cavalry arm; he thought the farmers could not sustain such a heavy burden, but Gyldenløve had more confidence in the economic capacity of the country. The 8 cavalry regiments were retained and it soon became apparent that *lægdenes* took pride in sending their best riders with their best horses to musters.

U.F. Gyldenløve, who was to render such great service to the Norwegian military establishment, was a half-brother of Christian V, but in talents, knowledge, and personal appearance stood high above his royal relative.

Gyldenløve was well acquainted with the dreams of revanche current in court circles and he wanted the Norwegians to be well prepared for both defensive and offensive warfare.

The young viceroy soon won the whole nation's trust and devotion by his straightforward and judicious behavior and he thus became able to carry out several military reforms that otherwise might have met with serious protests from the people's side.

¹ *Rytter* – rider, *læg* – group or circle and also a system of such groups or circles for whatever purpose, *skyld* – land tax, *rigsdaler* – (paper) monetary unit, ≈ 25 cents.

According to the old army organization, 4 "full-farms" formed a *lægd*.¹ New ordinances of 1666 and 1671 doubled the obligatory defense system, such that just 2 whole-farms now would form a *lægd* required to furnish and support a foot-soldier.

The new ordinance of 1671 provided:

1. Two farms shall form a *lægd* and provide one soldier in the customary way.
2. Recruits will be designated by a general conscription held every fourth year.
3. The soldier shall be born in the *lægd* or a bachelor in service. If none such are found in the *lægd*, one shall be taken from the parish, and the soldier shall go into service on one of the *lægd* farms at the usual wages, so that he can be found when required.
4. All able young men shall meet up for the conscription, and if a man who is in service with a *foged*, minister, or others who are exempt from conscription, is taken for a soldier, another shall at once be furnished in his place.
5. No one who has not yet served as a soldier may lease a farm until he has done his military service.
6. Each *lægd* shall provide its soldier with tunic in the regiment's color, which he shall keep for 4 years, and the head of the *lægd* shall see to the maintenance of it as well as the musket.
7. If a farm becomes available for leasing that may be convenient for the sergeant responsible for drilling, he shall be given preference before others in return for the customary rent and annual fees.
8. The *lægd* must furnish the soldier his necessary provisions at musters. When he is ordered to march to the fortress, the *lægd* shall give him 8 shilling daily for the march thereto, but on the march home he shall be provided the necessary sustenance from the means allocated to the militia, and when he comes home, he shall again enter into service on one of the *lægd* farms.

¹ At that time, farms were assessed and roughly grouped as full-farms, half-farms, and quarter-farms depending on size and prosperity for taxation and other purposes. One half-farm and 2 quarter-farms would make up one full-farm, and so on.



The result of Gyldenløve's energetic work to strengthen the military was that Norway in 1675 could field a well-organized army of 14,000 men – and of its native sons. It was:

Infantry.

Akershus Regiment	1,500 men under Major General Hans von Löwenhielm.
Small fiefs (Østfold) Regiment	1,500 men under Colonel Eilerik Jenssøn von Visborg.
Oppland Regiment	1,500 men under Colonel Christopher Friderich von Gersdorf.
Western fiefs (Vestfold) Regiment	2,000 men under Colonel Mogens Kragh.
Bergenhus Regiment	2,000 men under Colonel Bendix von Hatten.
Trondhjem Regiment	2,300 men, who for the time being were divided between the commandant in Trondhjem, Colonel Reinhold von Hoven and the army quartermaster general, Colonel Wyllem de Coucheron.

Cavalry.

The National Mounted Regiment	750 men under Colonel Mathias von der Recke.
U.F. Gyldenløve's Dragoon Regiment	650 men under Lt. Colonel Johan von Arnoldt.



St. M. de laun

A Marine Regiment was also established in 1663 to man the Coast Guard. It numbered 1,000 men, commanded by Colonel Robert Hamilton.

The field artillery, which now for the first time was organized as a separate branch, consisted of 26 cannon served by 150 men.

In addition, there were 4 mercenary garrison companies with a total of 1,400 men.



WYLLEM DE
COUCHERON

Much effort and a lot of money were also expended on fortifications. Norway got an organized system of fortifications under the leadership of the Dutch engineering officers Henric Rüse of Rüsensteen and Wyllem de Coucheron. At Akershus, in Fredrikstad, Christianssand, Bergen, and Trondhjem new fortresses were built or the old remodeled. Since Halden probably would play the same role as the border fortress at Baahus in previous times, work had begun shortly after the last war to combine several of the best situated breastworks into a unified complex, which under the name Fredrikssten Fortress became the scene of some of our proudest military actions.

Halden was given municipal rights in 1665 as an award for its citizens' bravery and was re-named *Friderichshald*.



HENRIC RÜSE



FRIDERICHSHALD'S SEAL.



**WYLLEM DE COUCHERON'S SKETCH OF
FREDRIKSSTEN FORTRESS IN 1667**

Neither Norway nor Denmark has ever been as well prepared for war as they were this time – and there were good reasons to believe that the Treaty of Copenhagen would be revised at Sweden's expense.

By the terms of the Treaty of Roskilde, Friderich III had been forced to release Sweden's ally, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, from his feudal duties and acknowledge him as a sovereign prince. The duchy thus now cut off Denmark proper from land access to Germany.

This problem had to be solved and, since it could not be done in an honest way, Duke Christian Albrecht was lured to Rendsborg, and in July 1675 he was forced to turn his army and fortresses over to Christian V for the duration of the war.

A month or so later the united kingdoms' fleet went out to sea under General-Admiral Cort Adeler. If the king had now had ferried the Danish army over to Scania as the Norwegian army simultaneously invaded Båhuslen – then Sweden must surely have been forced into a humiliating peace before the year was out.

However, the German-born generals persuaded Christian to first help the Elector of Brandenburg drive the Swedes out of Germany – and Griffenfeld regrettably could not dissuade him from this folly. The great statesman's position had already been undermined by the German clique at the court.

It went wonderfully well in the beginning. In September the Danish army marched through Mecklenburg and into Swedish Pomerania.

The Swedish commander Carl Gustaf Wrangell had been dismissed after the defeat at Fehrbellin and was replaced by General Otto Wilhelm von Königsmark. He stood with 11,000 men on the border between Pomerania and Mecklenburg, but when the Brandenburgers also advanced against him from the south, he had to withdraw to Stralsund and leave the whole country open to the enemy.



GRIFFENFELD MEDALLION.

The elector now wanted King Christian to help him conquer the Pomeranian fortresses, but Griffenfeld managed to prevent this. He knew Friedrich Wilhelm would not give a hoot about the Danes once he had Pomerania in his possession, and Christian V let himself be persuaded to turn around and begin besieging the important fortress at Wismar, which the Danish army had left in its rear.



KING CHRISTIAN V AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE AMALIE AT THE SIEGE OF WISMAR
1675.

The superior Danish forces had Wismar fully invested by the end of October, but the Swedish defense was so brilliant that the Danish generals got tired of it and wanted to raise the siege. Griffenfeld then again entered into the conduct of the war and warned the king of what a disgrace it would be for the army to return without any results. Christian once more deferred to his wise counselor, and Wismar surrendered on the 13th of December.

A couple of days later the king is said to have toasted Griffenfeld at a fête in the city's town hall with the telling words: "Without him, we would not be sitting here."

The outlook was dark for the Swedes.

King Carl XI had trusted in the superiority of his fleet. On paper it was also very impressive: 55 large ships with 10,000 men. According to plan, this mighty naval force was to have sailed out from the Stockholm archipelago already in August 1675. The intent was to clear the Baltic of potentially opposing warships and then ship more troops over to Germany and set an army corps ashore on Zealand.

However, things did not work this smoothly, since the Swedish regency government had also reached its greedy hands into the navy's administration. The fleet remained at anchor among the islands through both August and September. Thirty ships finally went to sea on the 9th of October.

It was an old tradition in Sweden to appoint an army officer, or even a civilian, as top commander of the fleet and this, to put it mildly, peculiar tradition was followed also now, and the elderly Field Marshal Gustaf Otto Stenbock was appointed admiral of the fleet. The cruise did not last long. Storms, sickness, and lack of provisions forced the fleet to return home in a sorry condition after just a couple of weeks.

The Danes and Norwegians were again masters of the sea, and this supremacy they were to hold as long as the war lasted.

However, Cort Adeler was not to get a chance to contend with the Swedes. Severe illnesses also broke out in the Union fleet during the violent fall storms. The general-admiral fell victim to one of them, but the brave seaman still did not want to leave his post. Not until he felt death approaching did he let the fleet go to anchor near Dragør. Adeler was brought home from here, and on the 5th of November his amazing career came to an end.

When the storm-wracked fleet returned in its wretched condition, the Swedes of course had to give up any attempt to transfer troops to the German theater of war, since their allies – the French and the English – had enough to deal with in holding the Dutch fleet at bay.

Carl XI therefore traveled to Vänersborg in early November with the intent of personally leading a winter invasion into Norway.

However, it was necessary to get the Norwegians out of Sweden first, since in October the Norwegian viceroy had moved into Båhuslen with 6,000 men and had driven the Swedish General Rutger von Ascheberg back to Kvistrum.

But Gyldenløve soon got reports from his spies that Carl XI intended to gather all of his army at Vänersborg and invade Norway. He therefore found it best to withdraw from Båhuslen and prepare to fight at the border.

However, nothing came of the Swedish winter offensive. King Carl could not

gather more than 10,000 men, and of course he did not venture to take on the Norwegians with so small a force. The whole winter passed with the hostilities limited to only minor forays on both sides of the border.

During his stay in Vänersborg, the young king developed a surprising energy for bringing Sweden's rundown military on its feet again. The last parliament had voted new taxes, and Carl hoped to be able to take offensive action in the spring. Outfitting the fleet lay especially close to his heart, since without the fleet the Swedes could not get to either Germany or Zealand.

The king most favored a landing on Zealand, since he thought that the Danes then would have to pull back to their own country and seek a peace treaty.



CORT ADELER'S MAUSOLEUM.

That the Danish-Norwegian fleet had grown up to be a naval power in the first rank since Carl Gustaf's time, still does not seem to have occurred to the Swedish government. At least, there was little apprehension that the Union fleet might prevent any landing of Swedish troops. These pleasant illusions would soon be dispelled.

Work on expanding the Danish-Norwegian fleet continued during the winter with full force.

Meanwhile, Griffenfeld looked for the man who could take Cort Adeler's place. Admiral of the Fleet Henrich Bielcke was too old to go to sea again, and Niels Juell still had not had opportunity to show his abilities as an independent commander. For political reasons the choice therefore fell on the famous Dutch Admiral Cornelis van Tromp. Griffenfeld hoped that appointing van Tromp would cause Holland to be more willing to fulfill its obligations as Denmark-Norway's ally.



When the top commander of the Danish army, Hans Schack, died in February, it was also necessary to find a competent successor for him. Duke Johan Adolf of Plöen was chosen – a German who had distinguished himself in the war with France.

He was one of Griffenfeld's bitterest enemies, but the patriotic statesman still did not oppose the choice of the duke, since he believed it would be the best for the leadership of the Danish army.

But this led to Griffenfeld's downfall. In Johan of Plöen the envious courtiers got a conscienceless leader. He told the king that Griffenfeld had entered into treasonous negotiations with the country's enemies and was plotting to topple him from the throne, and Christian V regrettably was foolish enough to believe this ridiculous charge

In March Griffenfeld was suddenly arrested and after a shameless trial sentenced to death with loss of all honor and personal property – a sentence that the autocratic ruler on the very place of execution commuted to imprisonment for life on Munkholmen in the Trondhjem Fjord.



GRIFFENFELD AT THE PLACE OF EXECUTION.

Before his fall, Griffenfeld had managed to force through a decision to carry the Danish army over to Scania. The German-born generals would of course rather help the Elector of Brandenburg drive the Swedes out of Germany, but the

king still had sense enough to hold to his fallen minister's plan – and the Union fleet would soon clear away any impediments the Swedish navy could present to the landing.

The campaign began with the conquest of Gotland. Although thirty years had passed since the Treaty of Brömsebro, the inhabitants still had Danish sympathies, and when a Danish-Norwegian squadron was sent there in April, the island was occupied without much difficulty.



MEMMORIAL MEDALLION FOR THE CONQUEST OF GOTLAND.

Cornelis van Tromp still had not arrived and Niels Juell therefore commanded this successful expedition.

After making arrangements for the government of Gotland and installing a strong garrison in Visby Castle, Juell went to sea again.

The Swedish fleet was now also ready to sail again. This long row of large warships must certainly have been a proud and impressive sight as it under the command of – the president of the mining commission, Lorentz Creutz – steered out of the Stockholm archipelago on the 5th May 1676.

If it only depended on the quantity of ships and men, then there would have been little hope for a Danish landing in Scania, but in war quality matters more than quantity – and this the Swedes got to learn. The first battle near Rügen was not decisive, but a few days later the new General-Admiral Tromp joined Juell with a significant Dutch squadron, and on the 1st of June their combined fleet won a brilliant victory near Öland. The Swedes lost 11 ships, 2,300 dead, and 600 prisoners. The admirals Lorentz Creutz and Claes Uggla were among the casualties.

By a single stroke the superior Swedish fleet was made harmless for the rest of the year, and now there was nothing to prevent landing the Danish army anywhere on the Swedish coast. On the 29th of June 13,000 men led by the king and the Duke of Plöen went ashore a little south of Helsingborg. The whole population of Scania and Blekinge rose against the Swedish dominion and after a couple of months the Danes again were in possession of their old lands – and the Norwegians as well in Båhuslen.



IN MEMORY OF THE VICTORY OVER THE SWEDISH FLEET NEAR ØLAND.

By spring Carl XI had given up all hope of achieving anything against Norway, and when he received the reports of the conquest of Gotland, he marched to Scania with a large part of his army. Gyldenløve then immediately resolved to go on the offensive.

3,600 infantry, 400 cavalry, and 12 cannon were assembled on Iddesletten near Friderichshald under command of Lieutenant General Henric Rüse of Rüsensteen and Major General Hans von Löwenhielm, and in early June 1676 the Norwegians once more advanced across the border. Without meeting any resistance Gyldenløve marched right down to the bridge at Kvistrum.

Here Lieutenant General Mürner had dug in with 1,600 men and attempted to prevent the Norwegians from passing across the river, but he soon gave this up and withdrew as fast as possible back to Uddevalla.

The main Norwegian army remained at Kvistrum due to lack of provisions. Gyldenløve pursued the Swedes with 1,400 men, and in the evening of August 16 encamped a kilometer from Uddevalla.

Meanwhile, Mürner had received reinforcements, but instead of placing his corps inside the town's fortifications, he took up a position some distance outside, and when the Norwegians advanced the next day, Uddevalla came into their possession without resistance worth mentioning – and without Mürner trying to prevent the occupation with his superior force.

Gyldenløve was forced to stay a whole week in Uddevalla in order to organize a reliable supply of provisions for his army as it marched forward. The inhabitants of Båhuslen still had not forgotten that they were Norwegians, and a large part of the population openly displayed their sympathy for the invaders.



ANDERS
BILDT

During his stay in the town, Gyldenløve stayed with the minister Jens Colstrup, who became so enthused about the prospect of Båhuslen being re-united with its old motherland that he later followed along with the Norwegian army as field chaplain.

Gyldenløve even found the sentiment so favorable that he used the opportunity to form a Båhuslen battalion, which was placed under the command of a Båhuslen noble named Anders Bildt.

Quartermaster General de Coucheron and Colonel Gersdorff were left in Uddevalla with their regiments, partly to maintain the supply of provisions and partly to cover the long line of retreat. The rest of the corps marched into Dalsland under the viceroy's personal command.

Meanwhile, General Mürner had joined with a smaller Swedish force under Major General Sperling and taken up a very advantageous position near Vänersborg.



ARMS OF HENRIC RÜSE,
FREIHERR VON RÜSENSTEEN

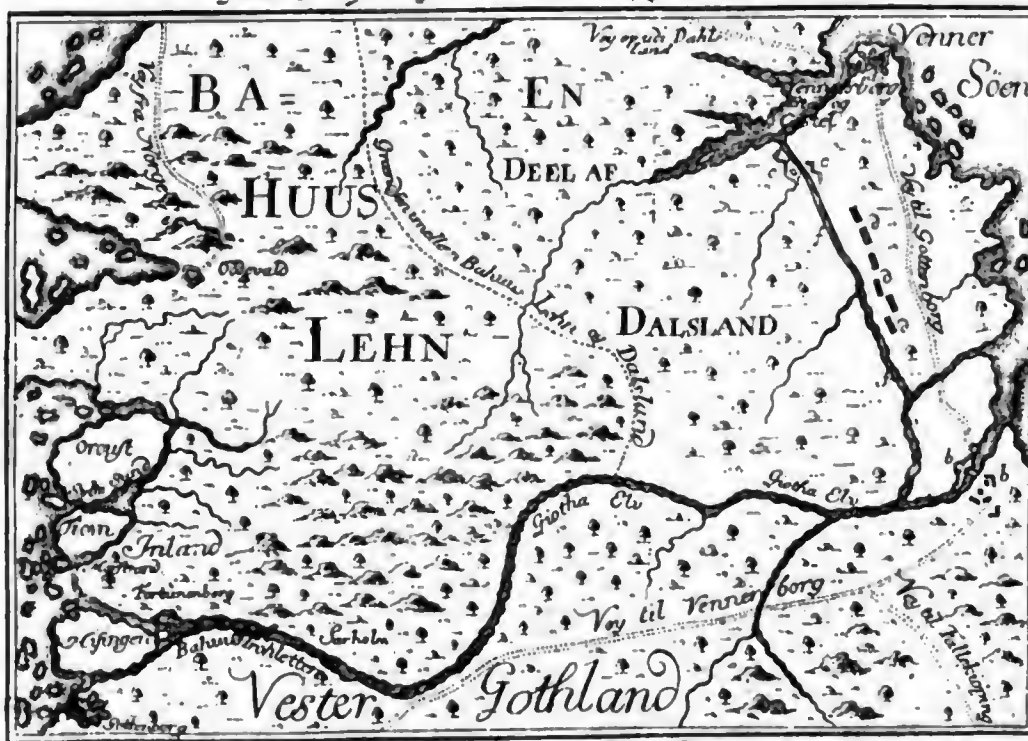
This town, which lies in the southwest corner of Lake Vänern, is separated from the mainland by the "Carlsgraf" canal and the Göta River.

The road from Uddevalla crossed a small wooden bridge and in front of it, the Swedes had constructed a couple of breastworks. Mürner lay on the other side of the canal with 3-4,000 men to defend the bridge.

To attack him in this strong position seemed hopeless, but Gyldenløve had already won his troops' total trust, and they only burned with desire to take on the superior enemy forces.

The Norwegians stormed the defensive works at the bridge with a vanguard led by Colonel Visborg. The attack was so violent that the defenders lost all discipline and fled in wild disorder.

Situation
Värnersborg, Bahuslän, Marstrand, Götterborg, Oddevall, samt de liggande Öar, Sjöar och Värners Söder, och Götha Elv



a) Värnersborgs fästelse b) den stora broen c) Småa Skantz d) Kärrens Läger e) Oddevalls Skantz
 f) Kong Carl:s Grua g) Irskheten (hvar de rige Skifter andlagges)

During the retreat they tried to set the bridge on fire with burning bundles of heather, but did not succeed, and Gyldenløve, who now had arrived with the main

body, pushed with irresistible force over to the other bank. General Mürner tried to rally his panic-stricken troops, but failed until they got into the breastworks by the large bridge over the Göta River. Here Mürner hoped that he could prevent the Norwegians from passing over the bridge, but when Gyldenløve let his whole artillery, including the captured cannon, open up against the breastworks, the Swedish corps fled across the river in great confusion leaving 300 dead and wounded behind.

However, the Swedes succeeded in setting the bridge on fire and thus saved themselves from further pursuit.

Gyldenløve then turned against Vänersborg. The citadel and defensive works were garrisoned by 200 men under Colonel Lillie. He was immediately requested to surrender, but only replied with his cannon. Since his troops were very tired after the battle, Gyldenløve put off the attack to the next day. Early in the morning on June 26th the Norwegians began bombarding the citadel from a battery they had set up on a nearby rise as the infantry stormed the defenses. The commandant then found it best to capitulate.

The Norwegian troops thus came into possession of this important town without significant losses.

Besides large stores of provisions and ammunition, 11 battle standards also fell into the hands of the victors.



EILERIK
VON
VISBORG



MEDAL STRUCK IN MEMORY OF THE CONQUEST OF VÄNERSBORG.

As mentioned above, the Danish army landed in Scania on the 26th of June – a couple of days after this event at Vänersborg. According to the agreed war plan, the Norwegians were to advance as far southward as possible in order to join up with the Danes if the Danish army succeeded in moving up through Halland.



MOGENS
KRAGH

Since Mürner had marched south to Gothenburg, Gyldenløve could take with him the troops he had left in Uddevalla. Roving parties were sent around in Dalsland and Västergötland to gather in more provisions and, when the army was well supplied, Gyldenløve once more set his army on the move while leaving a garrison of 400 men under Colonel Mogens Kragh behind in Vänersborg.

The line of march went along the west bank of the Göta River to Hjärtum, where they crossed over to the other side. Shortly after the crossing, a Swedish corps of a couple of thousand men tried to block their advance, but without success. After a hot fight, the Swedes had to again save themselves by flight with a loss of 600 dead and wounded, 160 prisoners, and 12 battle flags.

Now the road to Gothenburg lay open and it was not long before Gyldenløve could surround this important port city on the landside with his troops, which now totaled 3,500 men, and when a small Union squadron under Admiral Marquor Rodsten went to anchor in Gothenburg's outer harbor on the 17th of July, the city was also cut off from the sea.

General Mürner had taken over the defense of the city with the remainder of his corps so there were good reasons to believe that Gothenburg would share Vänerborg's fate. The city had much stronger fortifications, but there was a shortage of food, and if Admiral Rodsten had done his duty, hunger would soon have opened the gates of Gothenburg for the Norwegian troops. But he did not. A report was received that a large Swedish squadron that had been outfitted in England soon would arrive to relieve the city. The admiral thought he was too weak to go to battle and without conferring with the viceroy left the harbor. The English ships arrived shortly thereafter laden with provisions and ammunition so that now there was not much purpose in isolating the city from the landside. Gyldenløve therefore moved all his troops over to the island Hisingen and directed his attention to Norway's old border fortress Båhus.

A message had already been sent to Friderichshald for some larger cannon and, while waiting for the artillery to arrive, Gyldenløve advanced against the fortress and completely surrounded it.

The elderly General Harald Stake, who had attempted to stop the Norwegian troops, was forced to seek refuge in Båhus himself with his small force. The fortress thus got a garrison of 1,400 men, but this was hardly according to the commandant Börge Drackenberg's wishes, since he had no surplus of provisions.

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In late August Colonel Tønne Huitfeldt came from Friderichshald with the requested cannon. He had marched down the highway through Båhuslen, Dalsland, and Västergötland under constant attacks from roving Swedish detachments that in vain tried to obstruct his progress.

The viceroy now could proceed with a conventional siege operation and succeeded in overcoming some of the outworks, but Båhus itself stood up to its old reputation. No enemy had yet got the better of its stone walls, nor did it yield to Gyldenløve's efforts. The lack of provisions might have done the trick this time if the Norwegians had continued the siege for a couple of months, but soon there were developments that obliged Gyldenløve to break it off.

Christian V had sent Major General Jacob Duncan up to Halmstad with a corps of 3,000 men. After capturing Halmstad, Duncan was to join up with Gyldenløve and penetrate into the heart of Sweden.

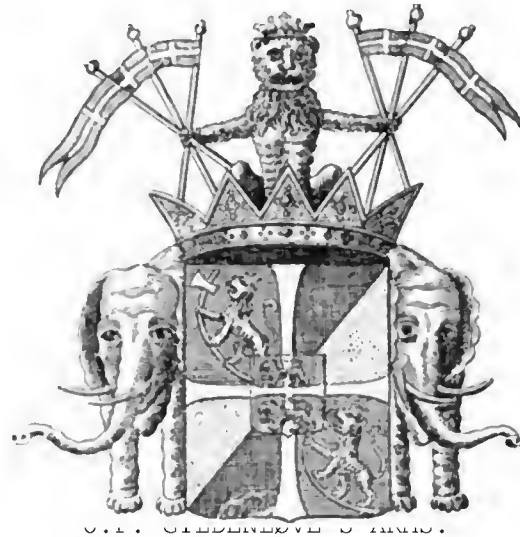
The danger was acute. A peace treaty made in Stockholm might be as harsh as the one that Carl X Gustaf had dictated in Roskilde.

However, the young king of Sweden had learned quite a bit from his numerous defeats. Since the Danish army now was split into two parts, he finally ventured to go on the offensive.

He managed to gather 7,000 men in Småland, and with this army Carl XI quick marched after Duncan, who had already begun besieging Halmstad. On the 17th of August the Danes were caught unawares by this superior force – and the result was that Duncan had to surrender with his entire corps.

Along with this unwelcome news, Gyldenløve also received reports that State Chancellor Magnus De la Gardie was moving toward Båhus with an army of conscripted farmers said to number 20,000 men.

This rumor was of course exaggerated, but the viceroy would not risk being caught between the fortress and the chancellor. He therefore lifted the siege in the middle of September and marched back to Uddevalla.



The garrison left behind in Vänersborg had been repeatedly attacked by the Swedes, and since it was considered difficult to hold the town through the winter, the garrison was ordered to destroy all fortifications and join the main army. With this the Norwegians' victorious summer campaign came to an end and in early October they marched home over Svinesund.

*

The capable commander of the Danish army, the duke of Plöen, had meanwhile fallen into the same kind of trap he had fashioned for Griffenfeld. The court toadies thought he had gained all too much sway over the weak-willed king. They therefore suggested to Christian V that the duke also had had traitorous dealings with Christian Albrecht of Holstein-Gottorp and this bugaboo worked perfectly. The duke was dismissed.

However, now the king no longer had an advisor he could rely on at his side, and he therefore called the commander of the Norwegian army down to Scania to confer about a new campaign plan.

The victory at Halmstad had given courage to the Swedish people again. By dint of the energetic efforts by Johan Gyllenstierna and Erich Dahlberg, Carl XI had succeeded in gathering an army of 20,000 men, and it was not likely that he would let the Danes just sit there in quiet possession of Scania and Blekinge through the winter.

In order to prevent the Swedes from drawing reinforcements from their northern regions, it was decided to send some minor Norwegian detachments into Dalsland and Västergötland.

Gyldenløve came back to Norway in early December, and on the 17th he moved into Dalsland with 1,700 men. The vanguard under Hans Løwenhielm encountered a smaller Swedish detachment at Toftedal and demolished it.

Otherwise nothing of significance occurred in this campaign, since shortly thereafter they got word of the Danish defeat at Lund – the bloodiest battle of the whole war. A victory which once more put Carl XI in possession of Scania and Blekinge, except Landskrona, Christiansstad, Carlshamn, and Christianopol.

The remainder of the Danish army was ferried over to Zealand and then there was no longer any reason for Gyldenløve to wear out his troops with a demanding winter campaign in the exhausted Swedish border regions. He therefore at once returned to Norway.



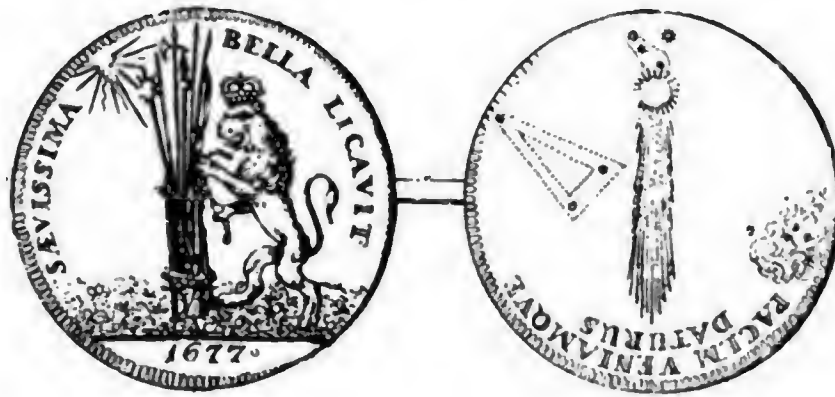
HANS VON LÖWENHIELM.

According to the war plan, Norway's "north of the mountains" military command was to defend its own borders, but not engage in offensive operations. Therefore only half of the Trondhjem Regiment was stationed up north.

The Swedes took advantage of this. The militia commander in Jemtland, Major General Carl Sparre, moved across the border in February 1676 with a corps of 1,000 soldiers and armed farmers, but snow and bad weather soon forced the enemy to turn around and go back to Jemtland.

In the summer the Swedes attempted to march across the mountains down to Stjørdal. They only got as far as Meråker, where the local farmers gave them such a warm reception that they had to withdraw across the border with large losses.

In early 1677 envoys of the warring nations gathered in Nimwegen to initiate peace negotiations, but it soon became apparent that tempers were still running too strong. The peace congress dissolved by itself and meanwhile Louis XIV and Carl XI had used the opportunity to take several fortresses from their enemies.



MEDALLION STRUCK IN MEMORY OF THE PEACE CONGRESS AT NIMWEGEN.

Carlshamn and Christianopol were recovered by the Swedes in February and March, and when spring arrived, the Danes had only Landskrona and Christiansstad left of the fruits of the prior year's victories.

However, Christian V did not lose his faith in winning back the lost lands. Throughout the winter every effort was made in both Denmark and Norway to get the army and navy as ready as possible for the coming campaign season – and the Swedes did the same. The Union fleet was the first to get ready to go to sea this year too, and thus a Danish army of 12,000 men could be landed at Landskrona in early May without opposition.

The new commanding general was a competent Prussian officer named Joachim von Golz, but since King Christian and a crowd of his court lions followed the army, the results were rather meager.

Carl XI stood at Landskrona with 7,000 men. By a flanking maneuver Golz managed to lead the Danish army right up to the Swedish encampment and, if the attack had been made at once, victory would have been all but certain.

However, King Christian decided to wait until the next morning – and then the Swedish camp was empty. Carl XI had left this dangerous environment in the dark of night and retreated to Herrevad.

This disappointment was eased when it was reported a couple of days later that Niels Juell had destroyed a Swedish squadron which had run out of Gothenburg to prevent Danish troops being transported to Scania. The battle stood outside Møen on the 1st of June and cost the Swedes 8 ships and 1,580 prisoners – among them Admiral Erich Siöbladh himself.

General-Admiral Tromp had gone to Holland to see about another Dutch squadron to assist the Danish-Norwegian fleet, and Niels Juell therefore commanded in his absence. Juell would soon get another chance to show that the Danes and Norwegians could manage at sea without Dutch help, since a month later the famous Battle of Køge Bay took place.

The main Swedish fleet had sailed from Dalarö in the Stockholm archipelago on June 9th and had been ordered to seek out and destroy the Union fleet before General-Admiral Trump returned from Holland. He was expected any day, so there was no time to waste.



MEDALLION STRUCK TO HONOR THE VICTOR IN KØGE BAY.

On June 30th the Swedish fleet went to anchor at Møen without having seen an enemy sail. It consisted of 36 ships, 6 fireships, and 12 galliots, which carried a total of 1,804 cannon and a crew of 9,000 men besides an army corps of 3,000 soldiers.

Shortly after the Swedes had anchored, the Union fleet commanded by Niels Juell came tacking up toward Møen under a southwesterly breeze.

Since the names of the ships and officers who participated in the battle on the Danish-Norwegian side may be of interest, I will provide the following list:

The 1st Squadron, or Vanguard.

1.	Ship of the line	<i>Lindormen</i> [<i>The Sea Serpent</i>]	50	cannon	212	men	Capt. Cornelis de Witt
2.	"	<i>Norske Løve</i> [<i>Norwegian Lion</i>]	86	"	568	"	Vice-Adm. Henric Span
3.	"	<i>Fredericus Tertius</i>	52	"	260	"	Capt. Iver Hoppe
4.	"	<i>Anna Sophia</i>	58	"	360	"	Adm. Marquor Rotsten
5.	"	<i>Christianus Quartus</i>	54	"	274	"	Capt. Cornelis Boomfeldt
6.	Frigate	<i>Hummeren</i> [<i>The Lobster</i>]	40	"	152	"	Capt. Johan Lund
7.	Ship of the line	<i>Delmenhorst</i>	50	"	200	"	<i>Schoutbynacht</i> Jan Elerssøn
8.	Frigate	<i>Havmanden</i> [<i>Man of the Sea</i>]	30	"	154	"	Capt. Zacharias H. Bang

The fire ship *Grønne Jæger* [*Green Hunter*] and the galliots *Bonne Aventure* and *Norske Løve*.

The 2nd Squadron or Corps de Battaille.

9.	Ship of the line	<i>Christianssand</i>	40	cannon	174	men	Capt. Jan Falck
10.	"	<i>Churprindsen</i> [<i>The Prince Elector</i>]	74	"	464	"	Vice-Adm. Chr. Bielcke
11.	"	<i>Enighed</i> [<i>Unity</i>]	62	"	260	"	Capt. Andreas Dreyer
12.	"	<i>Christianus Quintus</i>	84	"	567	"	Adm. Niels Juell (Flag Capt. P. Beesemacker)
13.	"	<i>Neptunus</i>	42	"	180	"	Capt. Friderich Giedde
14.	Frigate	<i>Den Norske Marie</i> [<i>The Norwegian Mary</i>]	30	"	120	"	Capt. Johan Lazarus
15.	Ship of the line	<i>Tre Løver</i> [<i>Three Lions</i>]	58	"	286	"	<i>Schoutbyn.</i> Floris Carstensen
16.	Frigate	<i>Postillionen</i> [<i>The Postillion</i>]	18	"	50	"	Capt. Arendt v. Flieringen

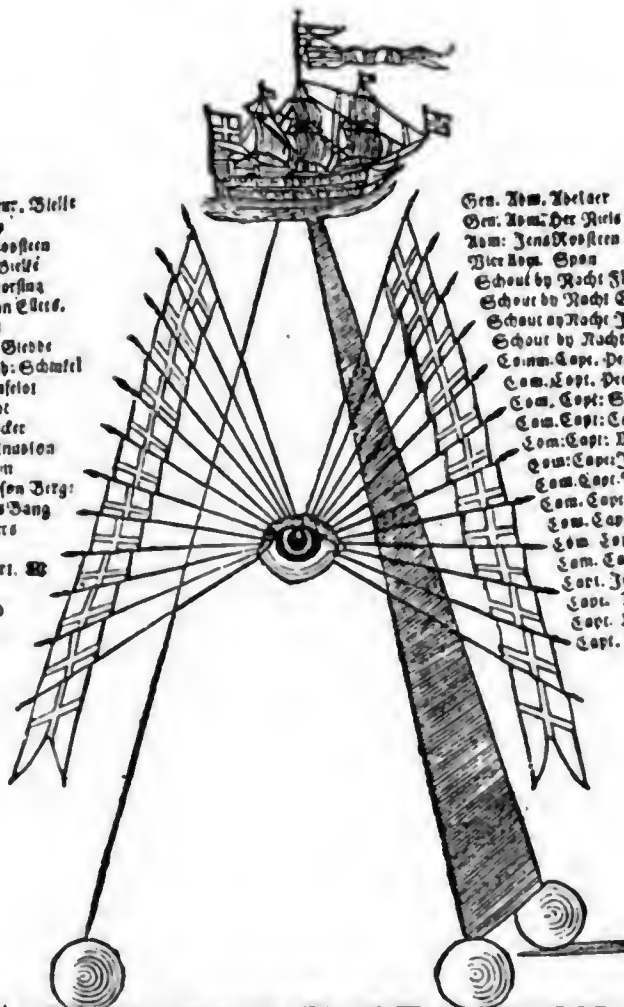
The fire ship *Forgyldte Fisk* [*Gilded Fish*], the galliot *Kong David*, and the yacht *Venus*

The 3^d Squadron or Rearguard.

17.	Ship of the line	<i>Svanen</i> [<i>The Swan</i>]	58	cannon	340	men	Capt. Isach T. v. Anten
18.	"	<i>Gyldenløve</i> [<i>Golden Lion</i>]	56	"	258	"	Vice-Adm. Peder Morsing
19.	Frigate	<i>Lossen</i>	30	"	84	"	Capt. P. Th. Linneberg
20.	Ship of the line	<i>Christiania</i>	54	"	230	"	Capt. Jacob Hoeck
21.	"	<i>Tre Kroner</i> [<i>Three Crowns</i>]	68	"	420	"	Adm. Jens Rotsten
22.	"	<i>Nellebladet</i> [<i>The Nettleleaf?</i>]	52	"	267	"	Capt. Gisbert Jansen
23.	"	<i>Charlotte Amalia</i>	54	"	322	"	<i>Schoutbynacht</i> Niels Pihl
24.	Frigate	<i>Hvide Falk</i> [<i>White Falcon</i>]	26	cannon	102	men	Capt. Johan Behn
25.	Ship of the line	<i>Svenske Falk</i> [<i>Swedish Falcon</i>]	44	"	203	"	Capt. Johan Schinkel

The fire ship *St. Peder*, the galliots *Unge Prinds* [*Young Prince*], *Lille Jæger* [*Little Hunter*], and *St. Johannes* and the yacht *Diana*.

Ad: Komral H. Her. Stelle
 Gen: Komral Leomp
 Gen: Marquard Rosfien
 Vice-admir: Christ: Biele
 Vice-admir: Peter Rosfien
 Schout by Nacht Jan Ellis.
 Schout by Nacht Pili
 Schout by Nacht Fr: Siebte
 Command: Capt: Joh: Schmitel
 Comm: C. Otto Arnstet
 Comm: C. Boamfeldt
 Comm: C. Desramader
 Comm: C. Boger Knudsen
 Comm: C. Jan Blom
 Comm: C. Henr. Hansen Dreg:
 Comm: C. Zacharias Bang
 Comm: C. Jbbeluders
 Comm: C. Bille
 Comm: C. Hans Gert. B.
 Capt: Johan Ried
 Capt: Henr. Niemand
 Capt: Jorgen Laft.
 Capt: Jotatus.



Gen. Adm. Adeler
 Gen. Adm. Her. Rie Jul
 Adm: Jens Rosfien
 Vice Adm. Spaa
 Schout by Nacht Harald Carlsen.
 Schout by Nacht Eero. de Witt.
 Schout by Nacht Jhver Hopp
 Schout by Nacht Andreas Dregger.
 Comm: Capt. Peter Thomsen
 Comm: Capt. Peter Carlsson.
 Comm: Capt. Simon Trueman
 Comm: Capt. Corat: Dargos.
 Comm: Capt: Martinius Poffelken
 Comm: Capt: Jan Oerichsen Ros
 Comm: Capt: William Pro. Helms.
 Comm: Capt. Jan Eumerich.
 Comm: Capt. Boger.
 Comm: Capt. or Dof.
 Comm: Capt. Neisnerger.
 Capt. Johan Vica.
 Capt. Wiman.
 Capt. Koch. Berfel.
 Capt. Martin Lemp.

POLYANDRIUM

HEROUM

Scientiis & præliis maritimis clarissimorum.

QVI IMPERIUM MARIS BALTHICI TENENTE
PRINCIPE SERENISSIMO.

CHRISTIANO QUINTO.

REGE DANIE & NORWEGIE HÆREDITARIO.

DIVERSIS PRÆLIIS NAVALIBUS DOMINIUM MARIS TUENTES.
CLASSEM SVECOKUM.

ITA FORTUNANTE DEO DEVICTAM.

Partim submersam, partim exultam, partim captam, partim fufam
& fugatam, totam funditus deletam.

Clade funestâ & memorabili multarunt.

Victorias cruentas & stupendas

Ære perenniores & ad invidiam illustres.

Svecis extorserunt, DANIS VINDICARUNT. Orbi universo

ostentarunt ANNIS 1676. 1677. 1678. 1679.

EXPE

The union fleet thus consisted of 25 ships, 3 fire ships, and 8 galliots or yachts [jekter] with 1,267 cannon and 6,500 men. It was significantly inferior to the Swedish fleet, but what the Danes and Norwegians lacked in matériel, they made up for in the training of their officers and sailors.

A lot of the Swedish sailors were just farm boys "dipped in seawater," and as before the top command was given to a man who had no great concept of seamanship. Field Marshal Ewert Henric Horn is also said to have been very reluctant to accept the responsibility of being the commanding admiral of the Swedish fleet, but submitted to Carl XI's will, though the Swedish prospects for a victorious outcome were thus significantly diminished.



MEDALLION STRUCK IN MEMORY OF THE BATTLE IN KØGE BAY.
(Obverse)

When Horn got Juell in sight he raised anchors and stood out from land, but a moderate gale prevented a battle from developing on that day. However, early the next morning on the 1st of July, the fleets got within cannon shot of each other. The ships lay on a port tack with the Danish-Norwegian fleet in lee. It was neces-

sary to come about at Stevns Klint, but since the Swedes were unfamiliar with the waters, the ship of the line "*Draken*" ran aground. Horn ordered 6 other ships to go to its assistance, but these were attacked by the whole Danish-Norwegian vanguard and soon had to strike their colors or flee.



MEDALLION STRUCK IN MEMORY OF THE BATTLE IN KØGE BAY.
(Reverse)

Meanwhile, Juell and Horn continued sailing down toward Møen with their other ships. The Danish-Norwegian fleet succeeded in breaking through the Swedish line of battle. This maneuver caused great confusion among the Swedes, but after Admiral Span withdrew from the battle with a couple of wrecked ships, the Swedes managed to get themselves more or less into line again.

A violent cannonade at close quarters now followed with "*Christianus Quintus*" in the middle. "*Enighed*" and "*Neptunus*" helped the flagship as best they could, but it soon received so many shots through the hull that Juell had to take it out of the line and go onboard the "*Fredericus Tertius*." Half an hour later

this ship also was in such poor condition that at noon Juell had to transfer his flag to "*Charlotte Amalia*."

The Swedes now had had enough of the battle. A fresh breeze sprang up from the northwest and they took advantage of it to escape – as many as could. Juell followed, but the pursuit ended in the dark of night.

The victory was devastating. The Swedes lost 12 ships, 3 fire ships, and 7 galliots plus about 4,200 prisoners, dead, and wounded. The Union fleet, on the other hand, did not lose a single ship and only 100 dead and 300 wounded.

The elation after the Battle in Køge Bay was of course great – especially since the Dutch had not been there to share the credit. General-Admiral Tromp did not arrive until the day after the battle.

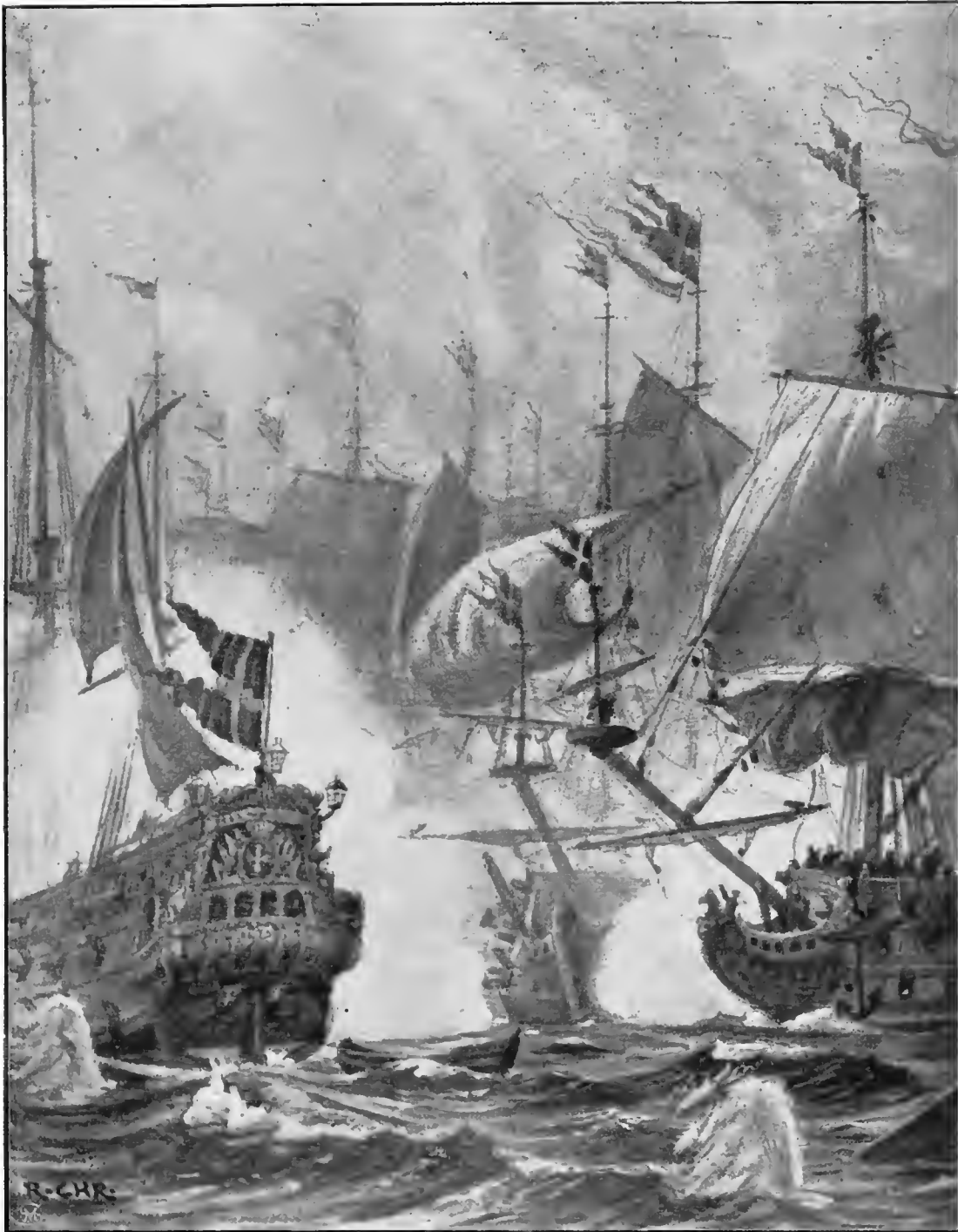
The Swedes now seemed to have received sufficient proof of their inferiority as naval warriors, since after the battle in Køge Bay the rest of their fleet hardly dared venture out of the Kalmar Strait.

If King Christian had been equally successful in Scania, the Swedes' position would have been even more difficult than when it began, but this was not to be. Though the Danish army had been brought up to 17,000 men, nothing was achieved on the ground due to disagreement between the generals. An attempt to occupy Malmö cost 4,000 men, and the Battle of Landskrona, wherein Carl XI held the field of battle, stood 14 days after the victory in Køge Bay.

The losses could have been made up, but Christian V had become tired of the war in Scania. He turned the army over to his generals and directed his own attention to helping the Elector of Brandenburg conquer Rügen.

The Norwegians' campaign in 1677 became one of the proudest chapters in the history of the Norwegian army. It stood in bright contrast to the unfortunate Danish campaign in Scania.





NIELS JUELL BREAKS THROUGH



THE SWEDISH LINE OF BATTLE.

Efforts to remedy the various deficiencies in the army's provisions and equipment got under way from the first of the year. All recruits liable for conscription were called to service and the old regiments thus grew so large that Gyldenløve found it practical to establish 3 new regiments as follows:

Coucheron's Regiment	1,200 men under Colonel Wyllem de Coucheron
Rochlenges Regiment	1,000 men under Colonel Morten de Rochleng



OVE BROCKENHUUS.



JOHAN V. ARNOLDT.



BENDIX V. HATTEN.



CHRISTIAN WIND.



MORTEN DE ROCHLENGE.



JOHAN WIBE.

And the 2nd Thronhjem Regiment was formed by splitting the Thronhjem Regiment's 2 halves into 2 independent regiments and, as in the previous year, the 2nd half served in the southern theater under Colonel Jeronimus Frederic Iddekinghe.

The cavalry also was significantly increased and played a prominent role in this campaign.

In 1677 the Norwegian army comprised ca. 17,000 men.

Gyldenløve put forward a proposal to open the campaign with a march against Stockholm, but Christian V had the defeat at Lund much too fresh in mind and considered the plan too risky. He thought that the Norwegian army rather should finish the conquest of Båhuslen. The Swedes still had possession of the fortresses Carlsten on the island of Marstrand and the old Båhus. Gyldenløve had to bow to the king's will and it was decided to open the campaign with an attack on Marstrand.

*Plan af
Marstrand Byes samt omliggende Skandjers og Fæstningen Carl-
stens Indtagelse Aar 1677 in Julio ved de Norske under
Stattholder Gyldelewes Andførsel.*



- a) Norske batterier paa Ko-Gen. b) Norske batterier paa Marstrands Ø.
c) Blokhusene eller Svenske batterier af træ bygde. d) Broen ved Hunen.
e) Skantzén Gustafsborg indtaget tilligemed Staden den 18 Juli.*

By the middle of June everything was ready to go. Major General Løwenhielm took the land route through Båhuslen with the Small Fiefs [Østfold], 2nd Trondhjem, Bergenhus, Western Fiefs [Vestfold], and Akershus infantry regiments under the Colonels Visborg, Iddekinghe, Hatten, Christian Wind – who had succeeded Kragh – and Arenholz, who had become commander of the Akershus Regiment after Løwenhielm. The cavalry was led by the Colonels Jakob Bülow, Ove Brockenhuis, and Lieutenant Colonel Arnoldt.

A few days later a smaller corps under Major General Hannibal von Degenfeldt was put on board a flotilla of galleys. It consisted of Coucheron's Regiment and the Oppland Regiment under Johan Wibe.

The galleys also carried the siege artillery and ammunition. Gyldenløve as usual held the top command himself and alternated between staying with the army and the fleet.

The Norwegians assembled outside Marstrand in early July without having suffered any mishaps.

The Old Norse town *Marstrandir*, or Marstrand, was founded by King Haakon IV Haakonsson. It is situated on the island Marstrand in the Båhus archipelago a little north of Gothenburg. The small citadel that Haakon VI Magnusson later had built for the inhabitants' protection had as time passed been replaced with strong fortifications. The Treaty of Roskilde had regrettably required the Norwegians to deliver Båhuslen – and with it Marstrand – as reparations for the woeful defeat of their Danish fellows in the Union. Carl X Gustaf had the old fortifications torn down and replaced by the stone fortress Carlsten constructed on the highest point on the island, the redoubt Gustafsborg on the south side, and a couple of blockhouses on the north side of town.

Marstrand itself had no particular significance, but its harbor made a sheltered and secure haven for Swedish privateers and their prizes.

The strong shore batteries on Hedvigsholm and at Malepert protected the harbor entrances. Colonel Anders Sinclair was commandant in Marstrand and, since he had ca. 600 men to serve the 200 cannon in the fortifications, the outcome of the battle might be very uncertain.

In order to prevent any possible relief from Båhus Fortress and Gothenburg, Gyldenløve had most of Løwenhielm's corps encamp on the mainland. The rest was carried over to Køen ["Cow Island"], where the Norwegians set up their siege artillery.

The shore batteries had to be taken first. Malepert surrendered on July 12th, but Hedvigsholm's brave commander Andreas Biörnsköld held out longer.

After several days cannonade, Gyldenløve tried to take the fort by surprise. 300 men were sent over to the island in the night of July 13th, but the Swedes were not caught napping. The Norwegian boats were met with a hail of cannon fire as soon as they came within range. The men from Hardanger and Voss, who enjoyed participating in such daring ventures, were not deterred. They rowed right onto the island and tried to storm the fort, but in vain. After repeated attempts, the Norwegians had to retreat. Only a third of them got unscathed away from this fracas.

The Swedes had also suffered large losses, and Biörnsköld, who had been severely wounded, had to be brought in to Marstrand.

The cannonade began again with renewed intensity and, when the fort's walls began to crumble, the brave garrison left Hedvigsholm after having stacked all flammable materials around the powder magazine and set it on fire. When this was discovered, Gyldenløve promised some soldier miscreants, who had been sentenced to death, their lives if they would row across and put out the fire. The daredevils' luck held up, and the powder magazine was saved.

An unceasing rain of cannon balls and bombs was aimed at the Isle of Marstrand from Hedvigsholm, Malepert, and Køen, and on the 19th of July Gyldenløve decided to storm the town.

The whole besieging force was put aboard galleys and barges. Degenfeldt, Visborg, and Coucheron were to attack Marstrand from the north, Wibe from the south, Major General More and Lt. Colonel Tritcheler in the center.

The flotilla moved quickly toward Marstrand under heavy fire from Carlsten and Gustafsborg. Gyldenløve led the attack from a small, fast rowboat and could be found where the danger was highest.

The citizens of the town did nothing to hinder the landing and it did not take long before the town and the blockhouses were taken.

The Captains Kosköld and Ugglå commanded at Gustafsborg. When the Norwegians stormed up to this strong fort, these officers lost their courage and fled up to Carlsten with their entire force. However, half a hundred non-coms and enlisted men were taken prisoner during the flight.

The victors found 8 black flags among their spoils, each of which carried the following legend:

<i>"Som trofast Mann</i>	<i>"As a faithful man</i>
<i>Jag träder fram</i>	<i>I step forward</i>
<i>Imod fienden at strida</i>	<i>Against the enemy to fight</i>
<i>Af Giötha Blod</i>	<i>Of Gothic blood</i>
<i>Og samma Mod</i>	<i>And the same courage</i>
<i>I Veridan berömt så vida."</i>	<i>In truth famed so widely."</i>

However, the hardest work still remained. It was difficult to reach Carlsten up there on top of the Marstrand peak with the cannon from Gustafsborg and the blockhouses and the fortress could not be taken by storm. The stone walls were much too high and strong for that.

But on the north side of the island a cliff rises straight up from the sea to a height approximately even with Carlsten. Since the fortress' cannon could cover all the roads leading up to the summit, it would have cost many lives to bring artillery up there by land. But the Norwegian engineer officers found a solution. They constructed a crane from tall trees and anchor hawsers. Mortars and cannon were brought close under the cliff with lighters, and on the 22nd of July Gyldenløve had his batteries ready.

A heavy artillery duel raged through the night and continued until noon the following day. The fortress tower then had so many cracks that it was in danger of collapse. Some of the walls also were severely damaged, and Colonel Sinclair now found it best to agree to Gyldenløve's call for surrender.

The garrison marched out of the fortress at 6 o'clock in the evening – 400 men with 10 lieutenant colonels and captains among them – and laid down their weapons before the commander of the Norwegian army, standing at the fortress' main gate surrounded by his higher officers.

That Marstrand's fortifications with its 200 cannon had fallen into the hands of the Norwegians after just three weeks besiegement caused great sensation throughout northern Europe. The fall of the fortress was significant not just for the further conduct of the war, but also gave the Swedish privateers a severe setback. That Marstrand's privateers had done a booming business was evidenced by the 50 or so Norwegian and Danish commercial vessels that lay in the harbor. These were now returned to their rightful owners.

Gyldenløve appointed Colonel Wyllem de Coucheron, who as a military engineer had played a major role in the fall of Carlsten, as commandant in Marstrand. Four companies of Coucheron's Regiment were left as garrison in Marstrand; the viceroy ferried the rest of the troops over to the mainland and joined them up with Løwenhielm, who was encamped at Uddevalla.



MEDALLION IN MEMORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MARSTRAND.

Some of the Norwegian troops were sent home again when it was rumored that the Swedish Major General Gyllenspetz had assembled a corps in Värmland for an invasion into Norway. Gyldenløve also went back to Norway – to get married! The viceroy celebrated his marriage to the Countess Antoinette of Altenburg on the 16th of August at Bragerne, as Drammen was then called.



MEDALLION IN MEMORY OF
GYLDENLØVE'S WEDDING.

It did not look like the Swedes had impressed him to any great extent during this war.

However, the honeymoon did not last long, since the day after the wedding an urgent message arrived that the Norwegians had been obliged to withdraw to Strömstad.

Gyldenløve immediately left his young bride, gathered some reinforcements from Friderichshald, and six days after the wedding the Norwegians in Strömstad again had their adored generalissimo in their midst.

The retreat had not been made under fire, but had been ordered safety's sake, since Løwenhielm had received reports that State Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie was approaching with a superior force that was rumored to consist of 5,000 soldiers and several thousand farmers. There were also reports that another Swedish army was to be assembled in Dalsland to cut off the Norwegians' retreat. Since Løwenhielm did not want to risk anything in Gyldenløve's absence, he had marched the troops back to Strömstad, where he could easily call for reinforcements to join him if necessary.

When the Swedish state chancellor heard about the Norwegian retreat, he got very brave. De la Gardie had not dared to relieve Marstrand though he had stood outside Gothenburg with his whole army during the siege, but *now* he would pursue the fleeing enemy. And not only that, but the valiant state chancellor, who hated Norwegians like the plague, wrote to the Swedish state council: "*If the provincial governor in Jemtland, Sparre, now would invade Norway in the north, and General Gyllenspetz from Värmland, it would now be easy to ravage all of Norway.*"

We thus see that the Swedish state chancellor did not lack for grand visions, but the Norwegians would soon emphatically disabuse De la Gardie of his dreams of conquest.

He had already occupied Uddevalla and had advanced his outposts to the bridge at Kvistrum, when to his great surprise he received reports that the Norwegians once again were moving down through Båhuslen.

However, the state chancellor did not run away again at once. He thought he could stop the enemy at Uddevalla. The fortifications there were improved, and all farmers fit for service in Dalarna, Värmland, Västergötland, and Dalsland were ordered to meet up under his flag. His army thus was augmented to 6 – 8,000 men.

However, it does not look like the addition of the men from Dalarna had improved the warlike qualities of the Swedish army. Nor does De la Gardie seem to have been the man to impose the needed discipline. According to his own statement, it was difficult enough to "keep them in a good humor!"

Meanwhile, the viceroy had ordered Degenfeldt and Løwenhielm to advance against the state chancellor with ca. 3,000 men while he sailed with some coastal vessels to take back the island Orust, where the Swedes had begun constructing some fortifications to block seaside access to Uddevalla.

On the 27th of August the island fell into Gyldenløve's hands without much difficulty. The garrison, consisting of 300 dragoons under Major Dresser, was sent to Marstrand as prisoners of war.

On the same day Løwenhielm arrived at Kvistrum with the major part of the Norwegian army. The bridge had been destroyed, and on the opposite bank stood Colonel Breitholtz with 1,200 cavalry and 2 cannon. It had rained for several days and the river ran high. The state chancellor therefore thought that it would not be difficult to stop the Norwegians from crossing, and this should certainly have been so, since the defenders could easily cover the west bank with fire from their strong fortifications.



MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE.

But Løwenhielm brought up a battery with 10 cannon and, after these had worked the Swedes over a while, ordered the cavalry to swim across. This unexpected development caused Breitholtz to lose his courage and give up all hope of preventing the Norwegian advance, but before the Swedish cavalry could do a complete turnaround, their rear guard was taken prisoner.



In his retreat Breitholtz met the state chancellor, who came driving up to inspect the position at Kvistrum and naturally became very angry over the cavalry's flight. Nor was his anger unjustified, since the Uddevalla road, which runs along the Kvistrum River down toward Munkedal Harbor, could easily be barred against a ten times superior force, since the left side of the road lies against a steep rocky hillside.

However, there was nothing to be done about that now. De la Gardie also had to turn around, since he did not want to be captured by the Norwegian dragoons.



**HANS LØWENHIELM AND THE NORWEGIAN DRAGOONS
AT THE BATTLE OF UDDEVALLA.**

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The state chancellor hoped to stand and fight in his strong fortifications by Uddevalla. Kvistum lies about 22 kilometers from the town, and since the rain had made the road almost impassable for infantry, he assumed that the Norwegians would give him ample time to organize the defense. But the Norwegian engineers quickly repaired the Kvistum bridge, the infantry marched across, and early in the morning of August 28th they advanced toward Uddevalla with the cavalry in the van.

Around noon the Norwegians clashed with the Swedish outposts, which occupied a forested rise. They quickly withdrew, but a little farther on the Norwegian dragoons were again stopped by fire from an artillery battery that covered the whole road. Then they discovered the state chancellor's army, which stood in full battle order north of Uddevalla with its left flank supported by the town while Breitholtz' cavalry had taken up a more advanced position on both sides of the road. The state chancellor himself and the quartermaster general, Pehr Sparre, had mounted their horses. Would they personally lead the Swedish army's fight – or flight?

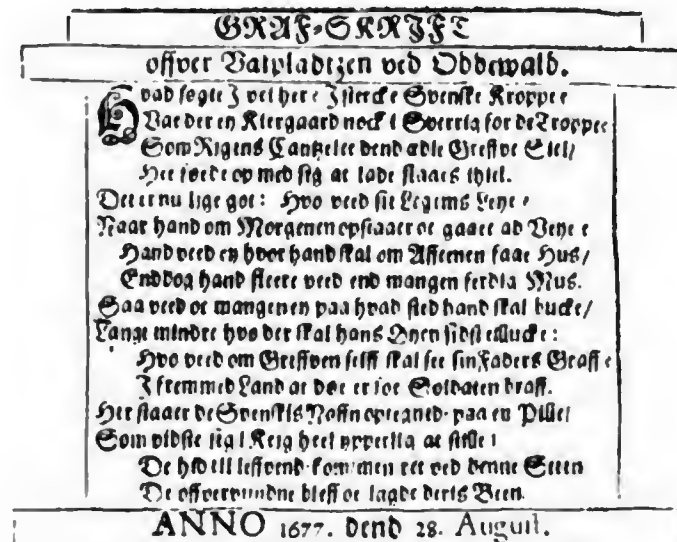
The Norwegian infantry began to arrive and, since Løwenhielm found the state chancellor's army in a very advantageous position, he ordered Iddekinghe and Visborg's regiments to make a circuitous movement to the northeast and attack the rear of Swedes' right flank. At the same time cannon fire was heard from the Norwegian coastal vessels arriving from Orust under Gyldenløve's command.

The brave state chancellor, who had wanted to "ravage all of Norway," now became afraid the Norwegians would cut off his line of retreat and at once gave his army orders to fall back toward Kobro, about 3 kilometers east of the town. Here the army could cross the Göta River and by destroying the wooden bridge prevent the Norwegians from following behind him to Vänersborg.

This maneuver *could* perhaps have succeeded, but Løwenhielm soon understood the state chancellor's intention and, since he did not want the Swedes to escape his clutches, he decided to attack them with only the cavalry at hand.

Led by Løwenhielm and Ove Brockenhuus the Norwegian dragoons dashed up the road. The Swedish battery was silenced. Breitholtz' cavalry, who was to cover the infantry's retreat, could not stand against the Norwegians, although these were inferior in numbers, and they fell back amid the infantry columns, throwing them into wild confusion.

A wild panic gripped the whole Swedish army, and soon a tangled mass of cavalry, infantry, artillery, and baggage wagons streamed along the road to Kobra. A violent rainstorm made the use of firearms almost impossible, but Løwenhielm's dragoons could wield their long cavalry sabers, and those they swung with a will. "Indeed it is reported," wrote the then pastor in Karreby, Severin Ström, "that the before considered as the best and the bravest among soldiers, the men from Dalarna, were overcome by such fear, that they, like calves, ran heedless into the bushes and let themselves be killed without resisting." Sweden's state chancellor and army quartermaster general both escaped being taken prisoner by mere happenstance.



FROM HENRIC GERNER'S "ILIAD."

At the bridge there was an unbelievable mêlée. Everybody wanted to cross at once. The Norwegian dragoons cut away at the disorderly mass as the Swedes, who now seemed to have completely lost all reason, forced each other out into the river. Only Lt. Colonel Zacharias Aminoff, who had gotten part of his regiment across, had sufficient presence of mind to resist the pursuers. When most of the fugitives had come across, he got the bridge deck pulled off and thus saved the remains of the Swedish force from certain destruction.

A shot from one of Aminoff's soldiers killed the Norwegian adjutant general Patrick More. — Otherwise, the losses on the Norwegian side were a lieutenant named Lacoer and 12 dragoons.



THE SWEDISH ARMY FLEES ACROSS THE GÖTA RIVER.

Of course, the Swedish and Norwegian reports of the state chancellor's losses do not match. The following list by the minister Melchior Augustinussøn may be taken as an average estimate: "On the battlefield were left 800 Swedes, 300 wounded, 180 prisoners. Acquired 11 metal pieces [bronze cannon?], 2 iron pieces, 8 red damask standards, 7 *blinde*, 3 black and red dragoon standards, 2 *blinde*, 1 white, 1 green, 1 blue standard, *item* Count Magnus' and Quartermaster General Sparre's carriages, gigs, and tents with all of the army's baggage."

Among the officers that especially distinguished themselves in the Battle of Uddevalla on the 28th of August 1677, Baron Degenfeldt in addition to Løwenhielm, Brockenhuus, and Arnoldt, in his report named Colonel Iddekinghe, Lt. Colonel Daniel von Tettau, the Majors Adolf Meier and Matias Rhode, and Captain Keritz.

Patt: More

At the same time, Carl Sparre, the provincial governor of Västernorrland county, had been obliged to relinquish his domain to the Norwegians of the 1st Trondhjem Regiment.

Carl XI had ordered that Sparre was to invade Trøndelagen again in 1677 with a force of 3,000 men. During the summer the governor-general also received a letter from De la Gardie ordering him to move against Trondhjem, and also against Røros and down through Gudbrandsdalen – if that looked feasible.

Sparre decided on the latter route. Musters were held around in Jemtland and the farmers everywhere seemed to be willing to furnish the necessary provisions and transport means for the attack on their old motherland.

The army was to assemble at Oviken, and in early July Major General Carl Rutenkrantz was ordered to march down too this place with the vanguard, which consisted of 4 companies of Jemtland dragoons and 4 infantry companies from Österbotten. The main force under Sparre was to follow shortly thereafter.

However, this did not come to anything as rumors began to fly that the Norwegians had left Trondhjem and were marching along the roads leading to Jemtland.

And the rumors were true. Before Sparre could organize his defenses, the 1st Trondhjem Regiment and a squad of dragoons from Nordland had crossed the border into Sweden.

The fortifications at Dufed, Hjerpe, and Marsill fell into the Norwegians' hands almost without resistance, since it became apparent that the people of Jemtland by no means had forgotten that they really were Norwegians. They immediately joined their old compatriots and did all they could to harm the Swedes.

The corps split up at Hjerpe and 1,300 men under Major General Reinhold von Hoven advanced against Sparre, who had withdrawn to the fortifications on Frøsøen while Colonel Georg Christian von Schultze marched down to Oviken with 300 men. Here he met Major Rutenkrantz' superior force, but when the Jemts went over to their compatriots, the Swedish major found it best to surrender with the rest of his troops. On this occasion 4 banners and 5 cavalry standards also fell into the hands of the Norwegians. The officers and soldiers who were not willing to join the Norwegian army, were sent to Trondhjem.



REINHOLD V. HOVEN'S
SEAL

Sparre was luckier. Major General von Hoven came upon Frøsøen unexpectedly, since the farmers had not given any warning about the approach of the Norwegians, but the governor still got away from Frøsøen without losing a single man. However, it is said the surprise was so sudden that Sparre and his wife "in such haste escaped, that they both rode away on one horse and did not have time to cover their legs as they should."

On Frøsøen – where von Hoven had been commandant 18 years earlier – they found large stores of provisions and ammunition that had been intended for Sparre's invasion into Norway.

Within a few days all of Jemtland were under Norwegian control, and the provincial governor, who had fled to Borgsjö in Medelpad, did not make any attempt to regain the region. He knew that the entire population was hostile to the Swedish government.

Reinhold von Hoven
Georg Christian von Schultze

Of course, Carl XI was not very enthused about Sparre's passive stance. Field Marshal Horn – the same man who commanded the Swedish fleet in Køge Bay – was therefore ordered to assemble all the troops present in northern Sweden and move into Jemtland. When von Hoven heard about this he found it best to retreat to Norway before winter arrived.

A battle with Horn could have had a doubtful outcome, and if his small force was overcome by superior Swedish troop numbers, northern Norway would be defenseless. He therefore had to leave the Jemts to their fate and in early November returned to Trondhjem with Sparre's artillery, 300 prisoners, and some Jemt soldiers, who had joined the Norwegian army. Field Marshal Horn moved into Jemtland behind the retreating Norwegians, and the poor inhabitants had no choice but to submit again. Many people had to pay dearly for their love of their former motherland. Among others, the minister Olof Ramm and 13 farmers were executed to pay for the services they had offered the Norwegian troops.

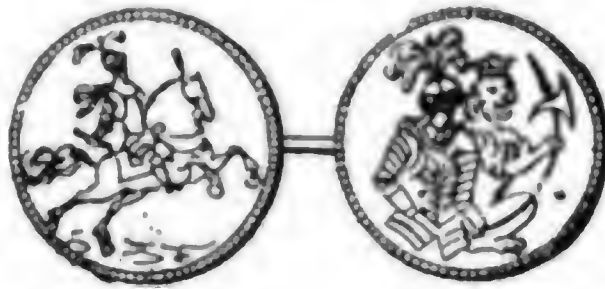


JEMTLAND'S NORWEGIAN COUNTY SEAL.

After the Battle of Uddevalla it was naturally expected that Båhuslen would be returned to Norway by the eventual peace treaty.

Gyldenløve therefore at once set all his men to work constructing various defense works and when winter came, his whole army was quartered in Båhuslen.

Carl XI proposed a grandiose plan for driving the Norwegians out: 6,000 soldiers and 20,000 farmers should be assembled at Vänersborg and advance toward Kvistrum, but nothing came of it. Gyldenløve, on the other hand, sent out strong raiding parties throughout the winter, which were so aggressive that the Swedish parliament had to meet in Halmstad rather than Gothenburg, where the members had been called to meet.



In Scania the fortunes of war varied after the Battle of Landskrona, but the Danes still held Landskrona and Christiansstad when winter came.

The 1678 campaign really got going in May when King Christian again ferried an army across to Scania. Helsingborg fell to the Danes by a ruse, but more was not accomplished since the army lacked a competent leader.

The Prussian General Goltz had been dismissed, his successor, the Austrian Field Marshal Lesly likewise, and since none of the more prominent officers seemed to want to succeed Lesly, the king persuaded his favorite, Friedrich von Arensdorff, to accept this thankless task.

Arensdorff was as incompetent a war leader as Christian himself, and the Swedes won back more and more areas in Scania despite their inferior military forces. On the 4th of August Christiansstad had to surrender, Arensdorff was dismissed, and the German General Wedel appointed in his place. However, this did not turn out to be any improvement, and Christian V, who again had become tired of the war in Scania, once more turned his eyes toward Rügen.

This island had been conquered in October of the previous year by a combined Danish/Brandenburg army, but on January 8th 1678 it again fell into the hands of the Swedes together with the whole Danish garrison.

The Elector of Brandenburg now managed to persuade Christian to help him once more retrieve Rügen from their common enemy.

In September 3000 men – one thousand of them Norwegians – were transported to the north side of the island under the command of the victor from Uddevalla, Hans Løwenhielm, whom the king had summoned from Norway.

The Swedes put up a desperate resistance, but when Brandenburg troops landed on Rügen's south side, they had to leave the island as quickly as possible and withdraw to the fortress at Stralsund. However, this also had to surrender to the elector in mid-October.

Greifswald fell shortly after that – and by the year's end the Swedes had been driven out of Germany.



MEDALLION IN MEMORY OF THE CONQUEST OF RÜGEN.

The 1678 campaign in the Norwegian-Swedish southern border regions began in June. Gyldenløve surrounded Båhus and wanted to make another try at taking the fortress, but its stone walls preserved their old reputation, and after 6 weeks of siege he had to retreat to Uddevalla, since Field Marshal Stenbock came to Båhus' relief with an army of 6,000 men.

In 1678 northern Norway was almost denuded of troops since Gyldenløve had also called the 1st Trondhjem Regiment down to the southern theater. Major General Sparre then decided to try his luck in Norway once more. He assembled a force of 2,000 men and in early July marched over to Røros while burning and plundering on the way.

Though the works superintendent Henning Irgens offered to pay a large ransom to save the copper works, Sparre still burned the defenseless town – only the church was spared. In this way he thought to efface the shame of his flight from Frösöen.

News of the Swedish invasion quickly spread over all of Trøndelagen. The mountaintop signal fires were lit and the *leiðang* began to gather, but Sparre was not eager to become closer acquainted with the *leiðangsmenner* so on the 14th of July he returned to Jemtland.

The Swedes were paid back double for this wanton robber raid. In February 1679 Gyldenløve ordered the Norwegian army to move into Värmland, Dalsland, and Västergötland. When the Swedes tried to stop the vengeful march, they suffered a serious defeat at Högsäter Bridge.

The viceroy turned back to Båhuslen in March – but Åmål and 400 farms then had been burned as payback for the destruction of Røros.

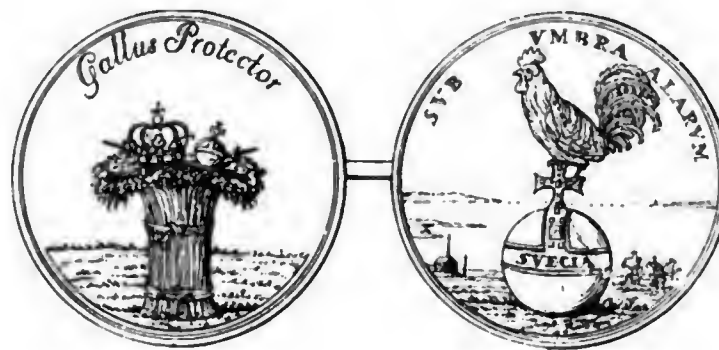
Only the churches were left standing and on their doors Gyldenløve had posted placards with the following message:

<i>"Som Carl Sparre til os taal, vi hannem ocsaa svarer.</i>	"As Carl Sparre speaks to us, we to him also answer.
<i>Af hans Mund gik Ildens straal; vi derfor ikke sparer.</i>	From his mouth went the flame of fire, we therefore do not spare.
<i>Hid, se! nu kommer norske Mand med Sverd og Ild i Hænde.</i>	Here, see! Now comes Norwegian man with sword and fire in his hands.
<i>Ei Fransøsk han tale kand, vel dog maa Ilden brænde.</i>	No French can he speak, though well the fire must burn.
<i>Røros blev i Aske lagt, og der først Ilden tentis.</i>	Røros was laid in ashes, and there the fire first was lit.
<i>Kom og skue nu saa sagt, hvor Lønner rigtig hentis."</i>	Come and see now finally, where the reward is rightly brought."

The Swedes tried once more to win back Båhuslen during this war, but in vain. When peace was made in Lund 26 September 1679 this former Norwegian region except Båhus Fortress was still in Norwegian hands.

Nevertheless, Båhuslen was not returned to Norway.

Sweden's powerful protector, Louis XIV, took over the peace negotiations on behalf of Carl XI, and since the united kingdoms' foreign policy no longer was in Griffenfeld's strong hands, the French diplomats with guile and threats succeeded in wresting the fruits of their victories from the Danes and Norwegians.



However, the Norwegian blood spilled in "Gyldenløve's War" could not be said to have been altogether wasted. It added to the sense of national identity and added some proud pages to the histories of the Norwegian army and navy.

The army's visible signs of victory – 103 Swedish banners and battle standards – were as usual sent down to Denmark so that the union king could have the pleasure of viewing them. Somehow it has been forgotten to send them back to Norway where they belong, but that was not so important now.

The most important thing was that the Norwegians during the whole war had fought with uninterrupted success *on the enemy's soil and at the enemy's expense*.

Much useful experience had been gained during Gyldenløve's War, and the popular viceroy immediately went to work to remedy the deficiencies that still plagued the army's organization. Thus permanent reserves were established for both infantry and cavalry. The artillery was increased to 7 companies. Spears and pikes were eliminated and these medieval weapons were replaced with the recently invented bayonet. The conscription and military justice systems were improved, and everything possible was done to raise military service in the eyes of the people.



Much attention was also paid to the construction of military fortifications as witnessed by the works at Christianssten, Skaanæs in Innherred, Kongsvinger, Christiansfjeld at Elverum, Basmo, Bla-kjær, Staværn, Sponviken, Akerø on one of the Whale Islands, and the stone fortress Kongsten at Fredriksstad, which were constructed or remodeled under the supervision of the head of the Norwegian fortifications system, Colonel Anthony de Coucheron, or his successor, Colonel Arfved Christian von Storm.

Anthony de Coucheron

Arfved Christian von Storm

There were reasons for the Norwegian people to be concerned about strengthening their military forces. Louis XIV's undiminished craving for conquest kept Europe on a constant war footing. After the Peace of Lund Christian V had made an alliance with France, and the Swedish king, who did not wish to be seen as a French vassal, went over to the opposition.

A new war with Sweden could therefore break out at any moment, and Carl XI might then use most of his army in an attack on Norway.

In 1683 things looked very threatening, but the storm clouds dissipated as far as Scandinavia was concerned, and the peace was kept for the remainder of the century.



Sweden got the most benefit out of this pause. The whole country was in a pitiful condition by the time peace was made and, since the high nobility had gotten their hands on two thirds of all the land, the people's future did not look particularly bright.

Only a thorough change in government could save Sweden from going under, and in 1680 King Carl put one through Parliament in Stockholm with the help of the minor nobility and the "secular estates."

Absolute monarchy was introduced, and the great lords had to let go of their plunder. Carl XI thus got both the power and the opportunity to reform the government from top to bottom. The army and the navy were reorganized, and a decade after the Peace of Lund Sweden could again be counted among Europe's great powers.
















Signatures on this page:

Hans Løwenhielm
 Johan Wibe
 Friderich v. Gersdorff
 Morten de Rochlenge
 Johan v. Arnoldt
 Bendix v. Hatten

Wyllem de Coucheron
 Ellerik Jenssøn v. Visborg
 Mogens Kragh
 Jeronimus Frederic Iddekinghe
 Mathias van der Recke
 Hannibal v. Degenfeldt



Chapter Thirteen

THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR.

Peace reigned in all of Europe as the sun set on the seventeenth century. The long battle that Louis XIV had fought with the Holy Roman Empire, Great Britain, and the United Provinces was settled at Ryswick and peace was made between Austria and the Ottoman Empire at Karlowitz.

However, European peace had never rested on a weaker foundation. Dark and heavy thunder clouds covered the entire political sky. The thrones around Europe were occupied by ambitious princes, who were only waiting for a new opportunity to test their powers against each other, and in Spain the last Habsburg scion lay on his deathbed. The masses of the people wanted peace – just peace – after the turmoil of the 17th century's traumatic wars, but for what counted the voice of the people in those days? The voice of God no longer belonged to the people, but to the princes.

The flames of war soon enveloped our entire continent and with bloody runes the War of the Spanish Succession and the Great Northern War were written into history.

We will name the major actors in the last named drama.

Carl XII sat on the throne in Sweden. In 1697, when he was only 15 years old, he had succeeded his father to govern a well-ordered nation with a full treasury, an exceptionally well organized army with 64,000 men – almost half of them native-born Swedes – and an impressive fleet with 37 ships of the line and 12 frigates. The young prince was well developed for his age both intellectually and physically, but since he in his first years on the throne seemed to be more interested in bear hunting than governmental issues, his neighbors soon got ideas about regaining the provinces Sweden had won in the previous century which had raised Sweden to be one of the major powers in Europe.



None were keener – and we may perhaps also say, had better grounds – to try another joust at arms to recover lost lands than Friderich IV, who who had followed his father Christian V on the throne of the united kingdoms in 1699.

The unwise policies of his predecessors had lost Norway the large regions of Jemtland, Herjedalen, and Båhuslen, and Denmark had lost its most fruitful and population rich provinces of Scania, Halland, and Blekinge.

However, the united kingdoms' military resources were no longer comparable to Sweden's. It was therefore necessary to look for useful allies.

In Russia, the forceful Peter Alexeyevich, whom history rightfully has named "the Great," sat on the throne. The Russian colossus had been impenetrable for European culture until Peter ascended the throne in 1682. With astonishing energy and enterprise the young tsar undertook to transform his nation while taking care to acquire access for his empire to the sea to the south.



PETER THE GREAT

Next, he wanted access to the Baltic Sea.

The Treaty of Stolbovo in 1617 had locked out the Russians, since they had to relinquish eastern Karelen and Ingermanland (Ingria) to Sweden, but Peter realized that it was vital for the Russian people to acquire easier access to the western European nations. It was imperative to reach the Baltic again – whatever the cost.

August II, "the Strong," was king of Poland. Originally, he was only Elector of Saxony, but through trickery and intrigues he had been elected King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the death of Johan III Sobieski. He dreamed of making Saxony a major European power and soon after ascending the throne of Poland began to lay plans for re-conquering the provinces Sweden had taken from Poland.

In 1699 Peter, Friderich, and August formed a secret alliance aimed at humiliating Sweden. Without bothering with a declaration of war, the Polish king was to attack Riga; the tsar would invade Ingermanland, and Friderich IV was to assault the duke of Holstein-Gottorp before the duke's brother-in-law and ally, Carl XII, could come to his relief.

Everything looked very promising for a successful outcome, but the scheme did not work out according to plan.

In February 1700 King August marched against Riga and in April a Danish army of 18,000 men invaded Gottorp-Holstein, but Duke Friderich traveled to Sweden with his family to appeal for assistance, and there was nothing that the 18 year old King would rather do than help his brother-in-law. He at once said goodbye to the joys of the hunt, assembled an army, and landed on Zealand without the Union fleet being able to prevent it, since the Netherland's bold *stadtholder*, William of Orange, who had now also become king of Great Britain, did not want any disturbances along the borders of northern Germany. The War of the Spanish Succession was about to break out, and the shrewd statesman hoped to get the troops of the Holy Roman Empire to fight against Louis XIV. He therefore sent a strong British-Dutch fleet into the Sound. Copenhagen was blockaded from land and sea, and Friderich IV, who was off in Holstein with his army, found it best to sue for peace, which was concluded in Traventhal Castle.

The Union king got off easy from his rash venture, since King William had no interest in seeing Sweden get too powerful versus Denmark-Norway. King Friderich had to acknowledge the duke of Gottorp-Holstein as a sovereign prince and pay the duke a hefty war indemnity, but all Sweden got was a promise by Friderich on behalf of himself and his successors never to attack Sweden again.

Meanwhile, Peter the Great had invaded Ingermanland with an army of 50,000 men and begun besieging Narva. Carl XII sailed across the Baltic with a small force of select soldiers, landed at Pärnu, and marched through Estonia to Narva, where he won a brilliant victory over the Russians on the 30th of Novem-

ber. Peter had left his army the evening before the battle and thus avoided sharing his officers' imprisonment.

It was now King August's turn. The king sent his lover, Aurora von Königsmarck, to the young victor to sue for peace, but the royal hero did not let himself be seduced by the beautiful envoy.



She did not even get an audience, since Carl XII saw August II as the originator of the war conspiracy and wanted to punish him in a very emphatic way by removing him from the Polish throne.

The Swedes went from victory to victory. Carl XII installed Stanislaus Lescinski as Polish king and forced August II to renounce all claims to the Polish throne at the Treaty of Altranstädt in 1706.

The Swedish king now stood at the apex of his fame and power. England and France both tried to drag him into the War of the Spanish Succession, but the proud conqueror had a higher ambition. *He wanted to also defeat Tsar Peter and make Russia a Swedish vassal state.*



AUGUST II OF POLAND.

In the meantime, Peter had used his opportunity while the Swedes were occupied in Saxony and Poland to once more force his way out to the Bay of Finland and along the banks of the Neva River had begun to lay out a city, which he intended to become the new Russia's capital, and named it Saint Petersburg.

When Carl XII heard about this, he conceived the foolhardy plan of marching straight toward Moscow. The Cossack chief Mazeppa promised to help him and the Swedish General Lewenhaupt was to march from Riga with 11,000 men and join up with King Carl's main invasion force.

In late 1707 the Swedish king left Saxony at the head of a select army of 44,000 men, but the brilliant plan of attack miscarried. Lewenhaupt managed to force his way through the Russian army sent to oppose him, but the general suffered such great losses that the Swedish main force did not gain significant strength when he finally joined up with King Carl.

The hope of a general uprising among the Cossacks also went amiss. Only 7,000 horsemen joined their chief to fight the Russian tsar.

However, Mazeppa's promises had lured Carl out onto Ukraine's desolate steppes and here the Swedes had to survive the winter of 1708. The army shrank to just 30,000 men, and in the spring of 1709 these remains of Carl's proud army advanced to Poltava in a pitiable condition.

Peter the Great now thought the time had come to attack the Nordic lion. He had learned from his many defeats, and at the head of 50,000 men he also marched toward Poltava.

On the 9th of July the famous battle was fought that marked a turn in European history. On that unfortunate day, Sweden tumbled down from its status as a major power and a colossus was conjured forth that from that day forward was to have significant influence the world over.

For the first time Carl XII had to show his back to the enemy. The entire Swedish army surrendered to the despised Russians, and as a helpless refugee the Swedish king with a small entourage escaped into Turkish territory.

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The Battle of Poltava encouraged all of Sweden's enemies. Friderich IV again joined in an alliance with August and Peter to once more try to win back their lost lands.

August II succeeded in quickly chasing Stanislaus out of Poland, and at the same time a Danish army of 16,000 men under General Reventlow landed in Scania. King Friderich went along on the campaign, but he soon tired of life in the field and returned to Copenhagen, where he wasted his time with carnival revels and masked balls in the company of his mistresses. The Scanian army lacked both this and that, but he could not be bothered with such trifles. Scania's competent military governor, Magnus Stenbock, meanwhile managed to assemble an army. Most of the soldiers were only untrained farm boys, whom the Danes derisively called *træskoryttere* ["wooden clog riders"] and goat herders, but Stenbock knew how to awaken a burning love of the motherland in the ranks of ploughboys, and in March he won a brilliant victory at Helsingborg.

Only half of the Danish army escaped to get back across the Sound again.

Later in the fall an indecisive battle was fought in Køge Bay between the Swedish and Danish-Norwegian fleets. It was here that Iver Huitfeldt won immortal fame.

His ship, "*Dannebrog*," caught on fire. He could have saved himself and his 600 man crew by sailing the ship aground on the shore, but that would have risked setting other ships on fire as well as he passed by. He therefore chose to hold his place in formation and continue to fight. The fire finally reached the powder magazine and "*Dannebrog*" blew up, and its brave crew died as heroes. This happened on the 4th of October 1710.



Huitfeldt

In the same year we also heard for the first time of another Norwegian, who was destined to bear the brightest and most beloved name among the long row of Norwegian warriors at sea.

When the war broke out, a sunburned, broad-shouldered young sailor had approached the commander of the Norwegian military, Baron Woldemar Løwendal – son of Viceroy Gyldenløve – and said his name was Peter Jansen Wessel, that he was a navy cadet, and would like to get a small vessel to captain.

The motherland needed all its sons, and the 18 year old cadet with the bold, open expression on his face got what he asked for – Løwendal must have been a good judge of character.¹

As captain on the 4-gun sloop "*Ormen*" and later on "*Løwendals*

Galley" he then sailed along the coasts like an Old Norse Viking, engaging superior opponents, capturing enemy cruisers, and striking terror into the Swedish coastal population. The daredevil naval warrior's life became like a collection of legends, and the captain on "*Løwendals Galley*" was soon famous throughout the North.

*

¹ [In 1711, Peter Wessel was 21 years old and a 2nd lieutenant on the frigate "*Postillion*."]]

Major campaigns were hindered by outbreaks of the plague in 1711. An invasion into Båhuslen led by the energetic Løwendal with an army of 7,000 men did not lead to anything significant.

He advanced all the way to Uddevalla and held half of the former Norwegian territory for some time, but when Løwendal, despite repeated requests to the Admiralty, did not get any warships dispatched to blockade the Båhuslen coast, he was forced to withdraw back to Norway again.



"LØWENDALS GALLEY" IN STORMY WEATHER.

A couple of ships of the line were then sent out – but too late. It also became obvious that this help was worse than none, since it was commanded by the traitor *Schoutbynacht* Wilster.

He remained lying quietly outside the Swedish coastal islands, while the Swedes snapped up one Norwegian and Danish merchantman after the other. Wessel did what he could, but he still had only "*Løwendals Galley*" under his command.

The Norwegian invasion into Båhuslen showed that there was little danger of Norway being exposed to hostile attacks in the immediate future, and under these circumstances the king found that Norwegian troops could be better employed in

a planned attack on the Swedish possessions in Germany. In early 1713 ca. 4,000 men left their homeland. They were the mercenary regiment "*Norge*" under Friedrich Christopher de Cicignon, the Bergenhus Regiment under Hartvig Huitfeldt, and the 2nd Trondhjem Regiment under Vincentz Budde.

However, events would soon cause Norway to have need of all its sons – but then the Union king forgot to send them home again after honorable service in the conquests of Rügen, Stralsund, and Tönning.



FRIEDRICH DE CICIGNON ARMS

Meanwhile, Carl XII stayed in the town of Bender in Moldova as the sultan's guest. He hoped to return to Poland at the head of a Turkish army, and he actually did manage to get the sultan to declare war three times, but Peter the Great scattered gold and diamonds among the Ottoman courtiers with a liberal hand – and the peace party won out each time.

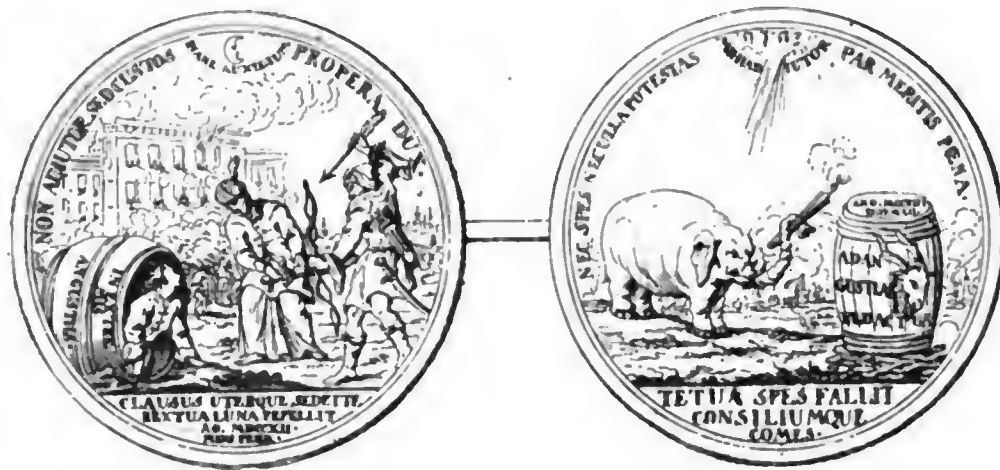
King Carl still did not want to leave Turkey. Since he could not invade Poland with a Turkish army, he wanted a Swedish army to meet him in Poland.

He sent one order after the other to Stockholm to the desperation of the Swedish state council, but the absolute monarch had to be obeyed. With great effort an army of 16,000 men was raised and was dispatched to Germany commanded by Magnus Stenbock. He again won a decisive victory over the Danes at Gadebusch on the 20th of December 1712, and then marched into Holstein.

The Swedish army's position now became hazardous, since Saxon and Russian forces were approaching and threatening their return route. Stenbock then entered and occupied the Gottorp fortress at Tönning, hoping he could later break out and march to Poland and meet up with King Carl. However, on the 16 May 1713 he had to surrender to King Friderich with 11,000 men due to lack of provisions.

This heavy blow brought discontent in Sweden over Carl XII's policies to a boil. The king was then finally forced to come home if he wanted to keep the Swedish throne. He rode from Turkey to Stralsund in 14 days and called for all possible efforts to restore Sweden's position in Germany.

There was still hope of concluding a reasonable peace, but all negotiations went aground on Carl XII insane obstinacy – he would not give up a foot of ground, and this posture got him even more enemies to contend with.



MEDALLION IN MEMORY OF "KALABALIKEN" IN BENDER
AND THE CAPTURE OF STENBOCK AT TÖNNING

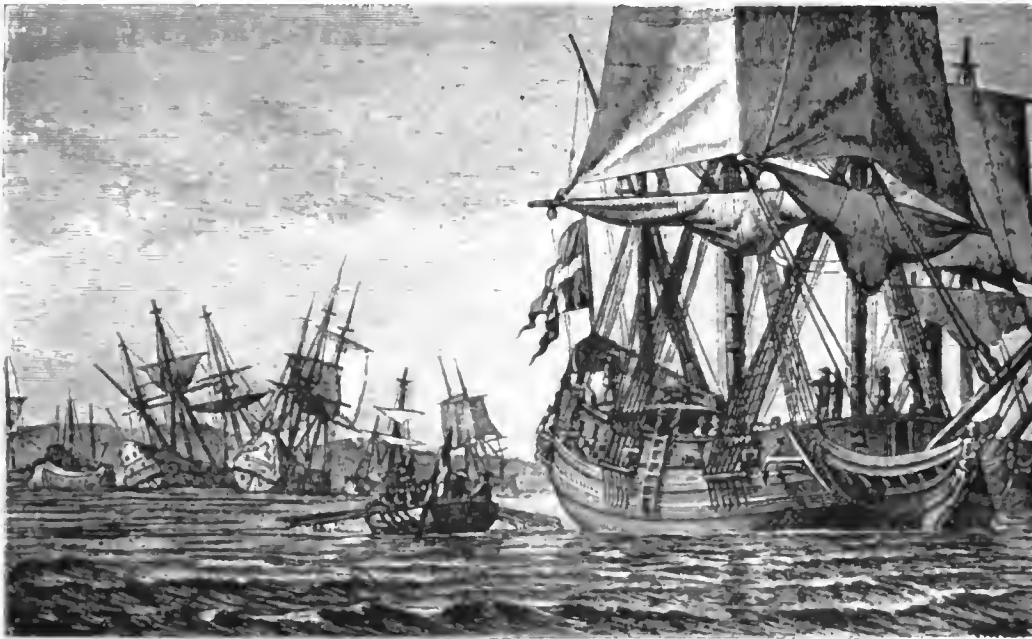
The Elector of Hanover declared war on Sweden with the intent of holding on to Bremen and Verden, which he had occupied, and the king of Prussia also joined the allies in order to get hold of Swedish Pomerania.

The 1715 campaign began at sea. The Swedish fleet succeeded in transporting troops to the beleaguered Stralsund, but on the 24 of April *Scoutbynacht* C.H. Wachtmeister met a Union squadron under Christian Carl von Gabell by Col-berger Heide. The Swedes fled after a hot fight, but the young Captain Wessel followed them through the dark of the night with "*Løwendals Galley*," and the next morning he forced Count Wachtmeister to strike his flag in the Bay of Kiel.

The Swedes lost 2,500 dead, wounded, and prisoners in addition to the whole squadron. The Danish-Norwegian fleet had only 65 dead and 220 wounded.

Later in the year a Union fleet under Christen Sehested won another victory over the Swedes near Rügen. 22,000 men were set ashore – among them the *Norge* and the 2nd Thronhjelm Regiments – and when the island was occupied, Stralsund's fate was sealed.

King Carl finally also realized this and he fled over to Scania in a boat. After 15 years abroad he once more set foot in his homeland – and one may well imagine with what emotions.

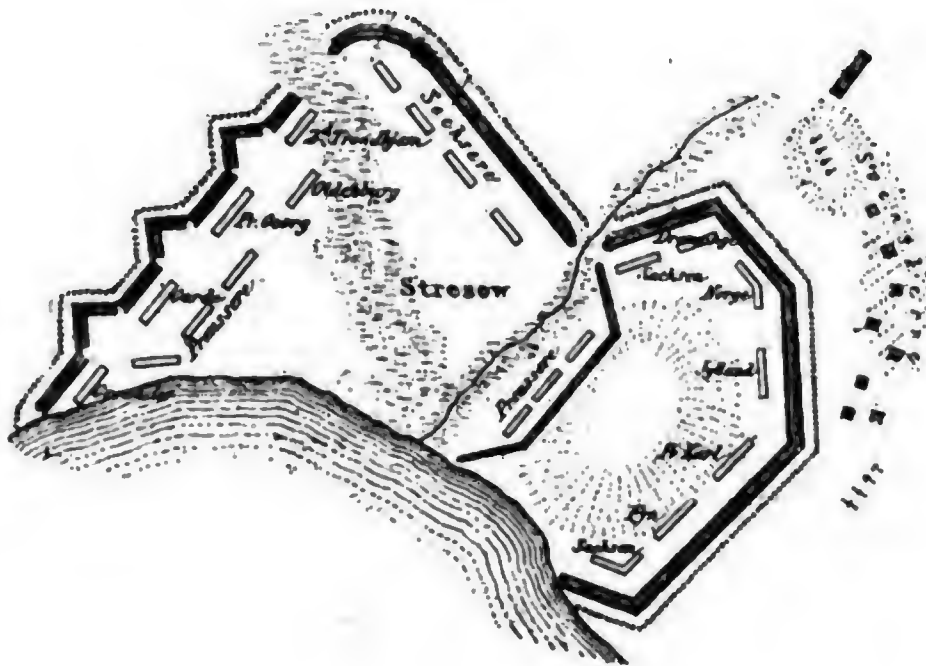


PETER WESSEL SENDS AN ENVOY UNDER A WHITE FLAG TO WACHTENSTEIN
WITH A REQUEST TO STRIKE HIS COLORS.

All of the Swedish people now wanted peace at any price, but Carl XII only thought of war. He did not consider either the people's complaints or their misery. His enemies must and should be made to give up the lands they had taken from him. What in other mortals' eyes looked like a sheer impossibility, in King Carl's mind was the only way.

With inexhaustible energy he brought another army into existence. His first intention was to invade Germany again in order to relieve Sweden's only remaining foothold at Wismar.

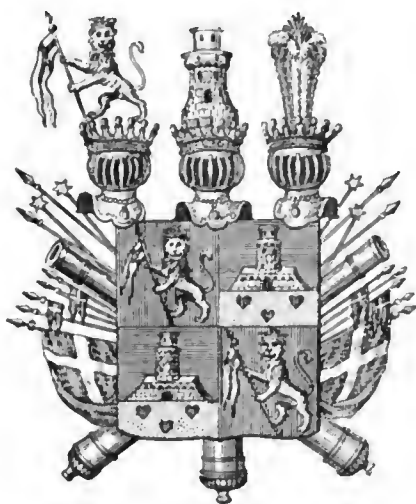
The idea was good – it was only necessary to carry it out!
Carl XII seems to have completely forgotten the numerous Swedish defeats in
Gyldenløve's War.



The well-regarded commander of the Norwegian army had a different opinion. He thought it made no sense to rob the country of its best soldiers as long as the war was on, and it would be better to make another attempt to win back Båhuslen while the Swedes were occupied elsewhere.

Most of the crews for the Union fleet were recruited in Norway, and that ought to have been a sufficient contribution for the common defense. The Swedish government could also be expected to soon take advantage of the army's diminution to invade Norway again. It was only by great sacrifices that the Norwegian people could maintain their national army, and it should therefore only have been used for the country's own defense.

But Woldemar Løwendal's words fell on deaf ears, and since his work for Norway's welfare also was hindered in other ways, he retired from the king's service.



WOLDEMAR,
BARON OF LØWENDAL

The king appointed U.F. Gyldenløve's half-brother, Lieutenant General Caspar von Hausmann as Løwendal's successor as commander in chief of the Norwegian military.

The king got his way. As mentioned above, the Norwegian troops were sent down to Germany and Denmark in early 1713.

However, the new commander in chief soon became as bothersome as Løwendal. First he demanded that several warships be sent up along the Norwegian coast to protect the commercial shipping, and then, when the Union king wanted the diminished Norwegian army to undertake a new offensive in Båhuslen, Hausmann replied that he could invade Sweden with 7,000 men, but only if he received 100,000 *rigsdaler* to outfit the troops.

But ready money was hard to come by in those days and it had not been customary to send money from Denmark to Norway – rather the other way around. Since no money came, nothing came of the proposed campaign.

Meanwhile Hausmann did what he could to outfit and train the army. He wanted the country to be prepared for all eventualities and when word came of Carl XII's homecoming, the commanding general had no doubt that the Swedish king now would try to restore his lost reputation as a warrior by an attack on Norway. The troops in southern Norway therefore were positioned in various locations along the border and, since it was not improbable that the Swedes might also decide to invade in the north, 3,000 men were assembled at Trondhjem. Likewise, the garrisons in the border fortresses were reinforced.

In late December 1715 General Hausmann sent his defense plan down to the king and at the same time requested that the Norwegian regiments be sent home.

Friderich IV did not take kindly to the commanding general's request. He could not see any possibility of a Swedish attack on Norway and he did not like that Hausmann had taken such wide-ranging measures for defending the country without first securing his approval. Rather than praise, the commander in chief therefore received his dismissal by return post.

The king chose General Erhard von Wedel to be his successor, but when Wedel would not take over the command unless he was given full freedom with regard to the army's organization and disposition, it passed to the senior general, Barthold Heinrich von Lützow,



CASPAR HERMAN VON HAUSMANN

There can hardly be a worse time to change the top military leadership of a country than when an enemy attack may be expected at any moment, and it was especially unfortunate in Norway – where it has always been difficult to gather all the headstrong personalities under one head.

A Norwegian overall commander must not only be a competent general, but must also be a superior, well-known, and popular public figure who can light the holy fire of enthusiasm in the hearts of the soldiers.

Lieutenant General von Lützow was a good enough officer – but little known and a weak leader. In any case, he did not enjoy the popularity and trust that in the previous war had moved the Norwegian army to go through fire and floods for Ulrich Friedrich Gyldenløve.

In January and February 1716 there were constant reports from Norwegian scouts about concentrations of Swedish troops in Värmland and Båhuslen. Lützow therefore gave orders for the Norwegian army to occupy the positions General Hausmann had specified in his defense plan.

A corps of 3,500 men was assembled at Kongsvinger under Major General Ove Wind, 4,000 men at Frederikshald and Frederiksstad under Colonel Arnt

Kragh, and 700 men under Colonel Uldrich Christian Krause between Aurskog and Basmo.

A reserve corps of 3,000 men was stationed between Nitedal and Fet under Major General Jens Sehested and Colonel Johan Garman, but since the fortress garrisons came to 6,000 men, Lützow's mobile field forces only numbered ca. 5,000 men.

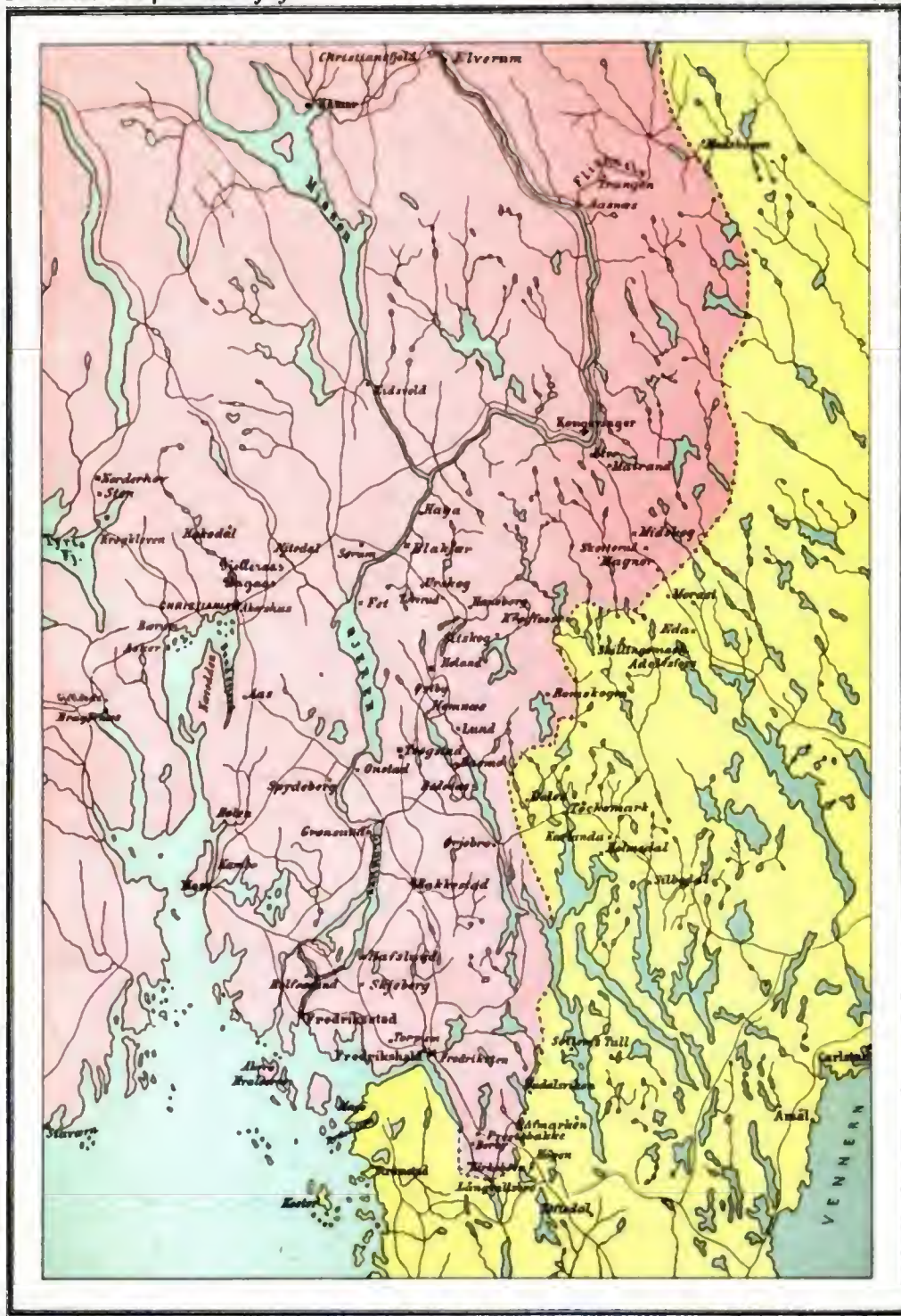
This positioning of 3 separate corps on a 200 kilometers long border of course made it easy for the Swedes to march far into the country before they could be met and stopped. Lützow had foreseen this and had ordered all the approaches to Christiania to be barricaded with cut down trees and breastworks.



BARTHOLD HEINRICH VON LÜTZOW

In early March Carl XII had completed his preparations for the invasion of Norway. 4,000 men were assembled at Holmedal. This elite corps was to march straight to Christiania under his personal command. General Carl Gustaf Mörner was to move into the small fiefs [Østfold] with 5,000 men, pass by Frederiksstad and join up with the king in Norway's capital city. At the same time 1,600 horsemen and 500 infantry under Major General Christian von Ascheberg were to march into Norway from Båhuslen, invest the fortresses at Frederikssten and Frederiksstad and maintain the line of communications with Sweden. In addition, a reserve of 4,500 men was positioned on the border with Dalsland.

King Carl XII was one of Europe's greatest generals and his soldiers were experienced warriors, but how he could imagine it possible to conquer Norway with this army is difficult to understand. The Swedish king had not been burdened with scholarly studies in his youth, but he could hardly have been completely unacquainted with the history of the Norwegian-Swedish border wars. In Hannibal's War, in the wars with Carl Gustaf, and in Gyldenløve's War the Swedes had usually gotten the worst of it.



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Edmund

One must also assume that Carl was well informed about the strength of the army in southern Norway. It was, of course, inferior in numbers, but the Norwegians had the advantage of several strong fortresses to support them.

Even if the Swedish army should be able to march right through the best parts of Norway, the campaign would still be fruitless as long as the fortresses were not taken.

Besides, the army could risk being surrounded by a general uprising of the people.

It was not King Carl's fault that he did not find another Poltava in Norway.

On the 7th of March Carl suddenly broke camp and left Holmedal accompanied by his brother-in-law, Prince Friedrich von Hessen-Kassel, who later became king of Sweden.

They marched north and crossed the border at Romsbogen, since Carl would rather avoid getting close to the Basmo fortress, but the commandant's scouts still detected the Swedish movement and a warning was immediately sent to Colonel Kruse that the enemy was about to invade Høland.

Kruse ordered the lookout fires to be lit and marched from Aurskog to Høland as fast as he could, but when he arrived at the parsonage in the evening no one there had heard of the Swedish invasion and he was told the same by Major Emhausen, who had just returned from a reconnaissance.

Kruse regrettably was content with this. He even recalled his orders for the outposts to occupy the crossing at Kongtorp, since he assumed that the warning from Basmo must have a false alarm and thought it would be soon enough to set out perimeter posts the next day.

The small force was also carelessly spread out over a large area. Brüggemann's company was quartered at the parsonage with the farmers nearby. Three companies were sent to the Rakkestad farms, Kruse and Vittinghoff's companies were sent to Østby, and a couple of companies under Emhausen got quarters all the way down by Hemnæs.

The next evening, on the 8th of March, Colonel Kruse finally got reliable information that the enemy had crossed the border and sent out a patrol which returned a few hours later and reported that the enemy's vanguard had been seen ten kilometers east of the parsonage.

Kruse at once sent a dragoon with orders to Lieutenant Colonel Ulrich Brüggemann and the companies at Rakkestad to assemble at the parsonage, but

the dragoon had to return without having accomplished his mission – the Swedes had already informed Brüggemann of their arrival themselves.

King Carl had arrived at Kongtorp earlier in the evening and from a captured scout got full information about the Norwegians' defensive positions. There was no time to waste, and a cavalry regiment was ordered to continue on to Høland. Around midnight the Swedes arrived at the parsonage where everybody were sound asleep. The surprise was complete, and Brüggemann was taken prisoner along with most of his company.

Since the troopers were very tired after the long ride from Holmedal they were allowed to rest up in the vicinity of the parsonage and King Carl set up his headquarters on the neighboring farm Skattum – the scout had apparently forgotten to tell him that the other Norwegian companies were encamped just a few kilometers from the parsonage.

Meanwhile, Kruse got his two dragoon companies together at Østby and rode over to a forest a little south of the parsonage where he decided to wait for Major Emhausen who had been called to join him by express messenger.

If Colonel Kruse had received this reinforcement and also called in the companies from Rakkestad, Carl XII's campaign would probably have come to a sudden end. However, the minister had told Kruse that the Swedes only numbered 150 men, and when Emhausen still had not shown up at 5 o'clock in the morning, Kruse decided to attack the enemy with just his 216 men.

He advanced on the parsonage, and the Swedish cavalry quartered there immediately fled. The Norwegians then rode over to the farm Riser, which bordered the parsonage across a wide creek. A detachment of enemy cavalry stood on the other side. The Norwegian dragoons crossed over the bridge led by Kruse, forcing the Swedes to retreat – and now began the battle that later became so famous in song and legend.

The prince of Hessen-Kassel, General Count Poniatowski, and several other high officers had stayed at the Riser farm. The prince had just lined up his companies by the farm buildings when the Norwegians and the Swedes crashed together in ferocious hand to hand fighting. Kruse himself met Friedrich of Hessen and sent a bullet through his thigh. Poniatowski also was put out of action. But then Carl XII came rushing in from Skattum with some of his bodyguards. He threw himself into the wild tumult of battle and was only saved from death or imprisonment by the help of Colonel Gustaf von Rosen, who came to the rescue with the rest of the Swedish troops.

The fighting became hotter and hotter. Captain Hans Michelet fell off his horse exhausted from several wounds, but still he would not give up. He fought like a mad man with his sword until he collapsed under the enemy's thrusts and cuts.

Kruse became worried about being surrounded by the Swedes three times superior numbers and ordered his own company, which had suffered most, to withdraw down toward the bridge covered by another company commanded by Captain Melchior Vittinghoff, but when this officer was wounded, his dragoons turned tails and fled heedless from the bridge. Kruse then halted again with a few men and fought valiantly until most of his wounded dragoons had crossed to the other side. He then slowly retreated, bleeding from several wounds.

He had to be carried up to the parsonage, and when the Swedes arrived there shortly afterward, he was taken prisoner.



Kruse's bravery was greatly admired by the Swedish warrior king, and he let his prisoner's wounds be tended to by his personal physician. According to family legend, Carl had the following conversation with the hero: "Why did you with so few men dare to fight against such a superior force?" he asked. Kruse replied: "It was bad luck that we were so few. If I had had another hundred men, I would not have been so easily taken." "If my brother Friderich has many men like you, it will not be easy to make war on him." "The farther Your Majesty venture into the country, the more such men you will meet," replied Kruse.

A while after Kruse was taken prisoner the other companies arrived at the battlefield. A Swedish defector told them the outcome of the fight and when the Norwegians heard that the enemy's entire force soon would be gathered at Høland, they quickly retreated and joined up with the reserve corps, which stood between Nitedal and Fet.



HANS MICHELET'S

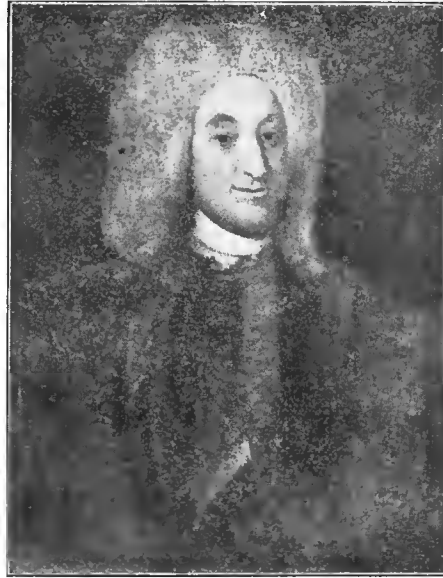


HEROIC DEATH

Colonel Kruse's hard fight combined with a violent snowstorm held up the Swedish advance for three days, and the commander in chief, who had his headquarters with the reserve corps, used this breathing space to draw in reinforcements. Major General Wind moved down from Kongsvinger in forced marches with two companies of dragoons and three battalions of infantry and Colonel Johan Wilhelm von Oetken came up from Frederiksstad with his regiment of dragoons.

The reinforced reserve corps then withdrew to the fortified positions east of Christiania. In a report von Lützow sent King Friderich the evening of March 12th, he gave the following overview of the troop dispositions:

"Frederikshald has a garrison of 1,500 men, Frederiksstad 2000 men, Akershus 1,500 men, Kongsvinger 700 men, Christiansfjeld 264 men. With 1,000 dragoons and 4,000 men, I have taken up positions at Gjellerås and Bagås. Major Iver Coucheron stands at Bjørås with 2 Oppland companies and some conscripted farmers and mounted militia."



JOHAN WILHELM VON OETKEN

The Swedes crossed over Glomma when the snowstorm ended.

On the 13th King Carl tried to pass by Bakåsen, but was repulsed with large losses and suffered the same fate again when he turned against Gjelleråsen the following day.

Carl now realized the impossibility of occupying the Norwegian capital until he received reinforcements. He had to control his impatience and wait for Baron Mörner's corps. The king also gave up all hope of forcing his way through the strong fortifications on Christiania's east side and marched his troops south over the ice on Øyeren to Spydeberg and from there west to Hølen, where he waited for Mörner to join him.

General Mörner had left Vänersborg with 5,000 men and arrived in Hafslund on the 14th of March. Five days later he joined King Carl at Hølen.

Lützow understood what the Swedes had in mind when they marched down along Øyeren – they were going to attack Christiania from the south. On the 17th

of March he therefore marched all his troops into the capital city. Here everything was in great confusion. "The Castle Law on Akershus" were at their wits end and did not know what to do.

"The Castle Law on Akershus" was a special Norwegian government commission, which Friderich IV had established after the viceroy Ulrich Friedrich Gyldenløve died in 1704, since he realized that Norway in case of an eventual war would be left to its own resources.



MEDALLION IN MEMORY OF FRIDERICH IV'S SOLEMN OPENING OF THE CASTLE LAW'S FIRST MEETING IN AKERSHUS FORTRESS 11 JUNE 1704.

It probably was not just out of consideration for Norway's welfare that the Union king took this action. By dividing the viceroy's authority between the "Castle Law's" members he eliminated the danger that a popular viceroy could present to the Union at a critical moment.

"The Castle Law" usually consisted of the viceroy as chairman, a couple of the oldest generals, and three or four of the country's highest civil officials.

This new governing council *could* have performed a very constructive function for the country – both in material regards and for the national spirit – if its members had been clear-sighted patriots and able to agree among themselves, but that was seldom the case.

And most unfortunately, the incompetent Baron Friderich Kragh was viceroy in Norway in this critical situation.

At a meeting of the "Castle Law" on the 17th of March, Kragh made the insane proposal that Lützow should stay in the capital with his corps – and offer the Swedish army battle on the ice in Oslofjorden.



A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Hans Hanssen Nobel. The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the portrait.

For once it was a good thing that the members of the "Castle Law" could not come to agreement. *Amtmand* Hans Nobel¹ strongly criticized the viceroy's proposal and supported General Lützow so effectively that the general's plan was approved.

¹ Hans Hanssen Nobel was *amtmand*, or county manager, of Romsdal's *amt* 1703-13 and member of the "Castle Law" 1713-16.

Lützow wanted to leave the city to its fate and withdraw the army to Gjellebekk in Lier and move the seat of the government to Bragernes near Drammen.



A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Wilhelm de Tonsberg.

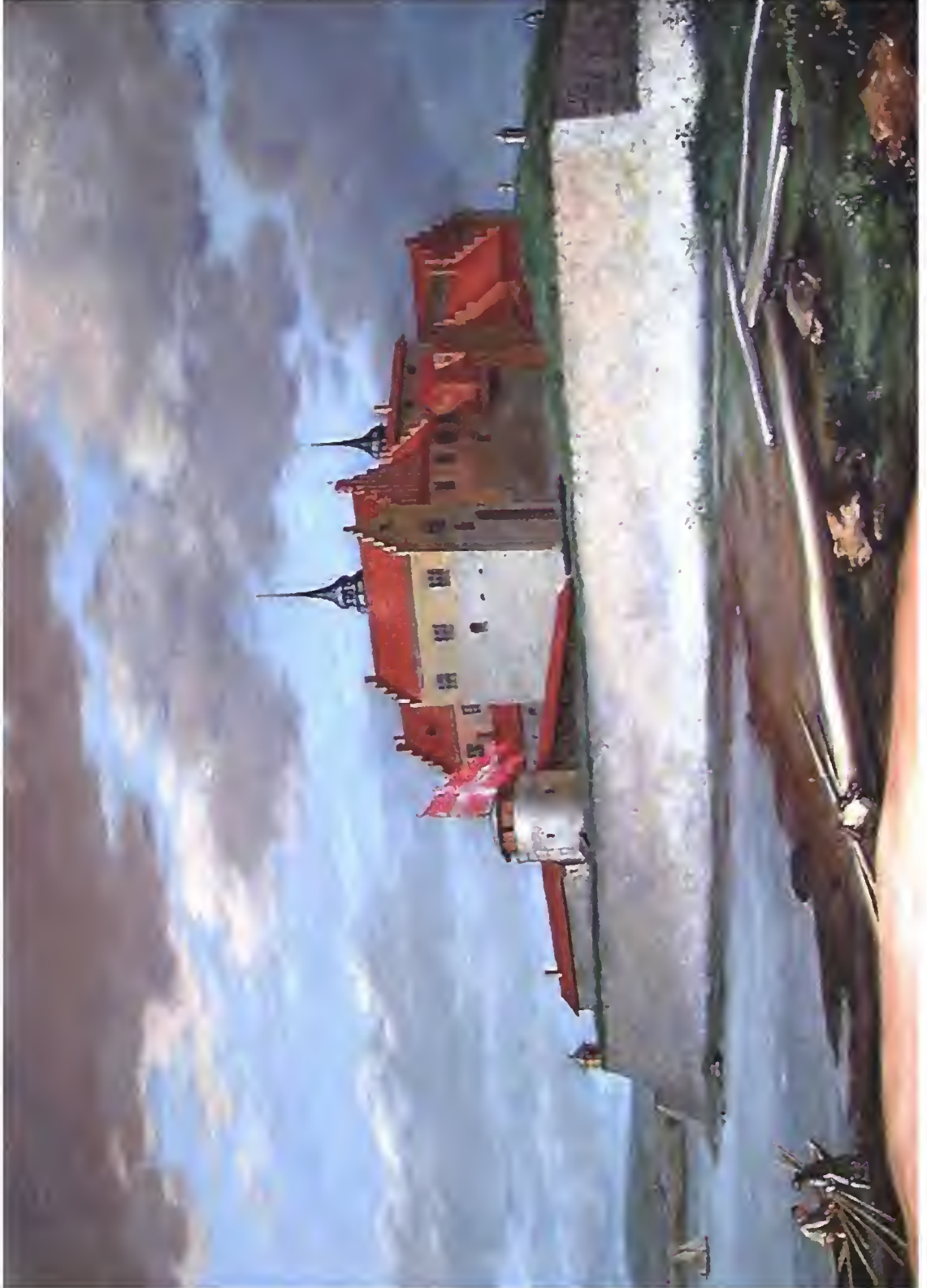
The enemy could thus be prevented from penetrating farther west, while remaining so close to the coast that the parts of the Norwegian army detached to Germany and Denmark without difficulty could join Lützow – if it should in time please the Union king to send the Norwegian regiments home.

The commanding general also wanted to destroy all provisions and valuables that the evacuated citizens could not take with them, since otherwise only the enemy would get to enjoy any benefit from them. However, this reasonable proposal went nowhere, since another member of the "Castle Law," *Stiftamtmand* Wilhelm de Tonsberg, declared that "such proposals only served to create unrest in the land."

On the 20th of March King Carl XII left Hølen with an army of 8,000 men, passed by Ås, and marched down to the ice-covered Bunnefjorden, intending to advance to Christiania along the foot of Ekebergåsen, but when the Swedes got close to the town they received such heavy fire from Akershus that King Carl had to let his army cross over the ice to Bygdø in small groups. The enemy then moved in respectful distance from the fortress past the church in Aker and into the open town.

King Carl now had entered Norway's capital city, but the Swedes had not gained much thereby.

If their king had dreamt of large results from this feat, he was soon disappointed. The Swedish soldiers enjoyed the provisions and personal property the wealthy burghers had left behind – but that was also all.



AKERSHUS IN FRIDERICH IV'S TIME

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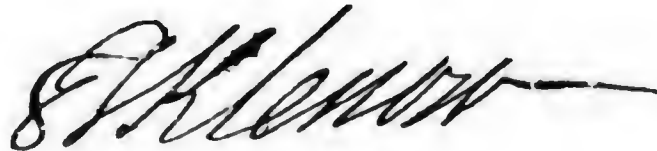
The Swedes had to seize Akershus, since they could not be said to be in possession of the capital city until this fortress had been taken.

The fortifications at Akershus certainly were in a poor condition, but Lützow had left a strong garrison commanded by Colonel Jørgen Christopher von Klenow – in whose hands the old fortress would be well defended.

The garrison went work to improve the fortifications with a will, and since they were well supplied with food and ammunition, King Carl was welcome to besiege Akershus with his large number of troops.

For, as improbable as it might sound, this experienced warrior king had neglected to bring siege guns along with him.

The whole campaign is marked by Carl's total ignorance of the difficulties he could expect to meet with in Norway, but we may at least assume that he knew that the Norwegian fortresses were built of stone, and solid stone walls cannot be breached without siege artillery – not even with Carl XII's sharp sword.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. C. von Klenow', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

The Swedes made a desperate attempt to take Akershus by storm on the 23 of March, but the fortress' cannon and a lively musket fire soon forced them retreat to their main quarters in Vaterland¹.

King Carl then decided that he would have to be content with keeping the fortress under siege until the ice broke up. He gave orders for siege artillery to be sent up by sea from Gothenburg. He seems not to have been bothered by the Swedes not having control of the sea lanes. During the next three months some smaller Swedish ships managed to sneak up along the coastal waterway with the requested siege artillery – but only to be sunk by Tordenskiold's cannon in Dynekilen.

But if King Carl intended to leave the fortress in peace for the time being, the commandant on his part had no intention of just sitting there. He ordered one sortie after the other, and as soon as the Swedes showed themselves within the range of his cannon, they were swept away.

¹ A district of old Oslo. The name comes from the Dutch *Waterland* and may refer to the ground being waterlogged.

The commander of the Skedsmo Company, Captain Johan Christopher von Koss, must be mentioned among the officers who especially distinguished themselves.

One day Koss got all the way into Oslo, but during the fight he was hit in the heart by a musket ball. His small group had to retreat though surrounded by the enemy. The captain's son, the 17 year old 2nd Lieutenant Christian von Koss, would not abandon his father's body in the hands of the Swedes. Followed by three comrades he charged in among the enemy. Two got shot, the third taken prisoner, but the son managed to get to his father's bloody corpse and with this sorrowful burden on his back, he made it back under cover of the fortress' cannon.

A long memorial poem that secretary of state Friderich Rostgaard published at this time said:

*Men vor Noormand, som tør vove
Livet selv for Faders Liig,
Er for andre værd at love
Som en Helt saa dyderlig.*

But our Norwegian who dares risk
life itself for father's corpse,
is for others worth to praise
as a hero so virtuous.

*Svensken maa da ikke vente,
at han sig af Norrigs skov
Nogen Laurberr Green skal hente
Eller Seyervindings lov;*

The Swede should not then expect
that he from Norway's woods
any laurel branch shall gather
or victorious wins' leaves;

*Medens Folk i dette Rige
Vove tør at ofre op
Helbred, Gods, of Liv tillage
For en afdød Faders Krop.*

While people in this kingdom
risk to dare offer up
health, property, and life itself
for a deceased father's body.



CHRISTIAN VON KOSS.

King Carl had left his sick soldiers and some of the baggage guarded by ca. 400 dragoons and armed farmers.

When the commandant in Frederiksstad heard about this, he decided to take the Swedish garrison by surprise. The captains Hans Rømer and Hans Steen, and Lieutenant Heinrich Behn were immediately dispatched to Moss with 260 men of the Small Fiefs' [Østfold] Regiment.

The plan was completely successful. The Norwegians arrived in Moss at midnight the 26th of March. Major von Thesmar, who held Swedish command since the commandant Lieutenant Colonel Weinholtz lay sick, had posted one of his companies to stand guard by the iron works while he and the other Swedes lay sleeping in the houses around town.



MOSS IN FRIDERICH IV'S TIME.

To deceive the enemy, the Norwegian soldiers were told to turn their coats, which had light blue lining, inside out to resemble the light blue Swedish uniforms.

A detachment overcame the guard at the iron works, and the rest moved into the town from both sides. Those who resisted were cut down, but most – including Lieutenant Colonel Weinholtz, Major von Thesmar, and 6 other officers – were taken prisoner.

Well satisfied with their successful raid, the Norwegians returned to Frederiksstad with 3 flags, 383 prisoners, and much booty.

King Carl became very angry when the reports of this successful raid reached him, since he had thought Count Ascheberg already had carried out his mission and blocked the garrisons in Frederiksstad and Frederikssten from attacking Lieutenant Colonel Weinholtz from the rear.

But this was not the case. The count had moved very sedately. His troops had not crossed the border until the 23 of March, and then they got such a warm welcome from volunteers from Frederikshald that Ascheberg lost all desire to get closer to the Norwegian fortresses. He marched his troops across the Tista River at Skåningsfossen and on the 28 of March established his headquarters at the Skjeberg parsonage, halfway between Frederiksstad and Frederikssten, where he heard about the raid on Moss, but by then it was too late.

Meanwhile, Carl had sent Colonel Melchior Falckenberg down to Moss with the Västmannland Regiment to connect with Ascheberg's corps. They succeeded in their mission, but as we will see later, this line of communications did not become of much use.

Already the day after the Swedes' arrival in Christiania, the Colonels Löwenstern and Bielcke were sent out with 600 cavalry to probe the Norwegian positions at Gjellebekk. They lost 30 men in a skirmish with Norwegian scout troops on skis and retreated to Ravensborg in Asker without making any attempts to move farther ahead.

But if the Norwegian troops were not bothered by the enemy, they were far from comfortable in their camp at Gjellebekk. Most had to bivouac in the open in the snow-clad fields and the food was so poor that many died of hunger though the army sutlers von Cappelen, Lemmich, and Bych and several other patriotic citizens of Bragernes made great efforts to relieve their wants.



After the reconnaissance the king realized that it would be difficult to drive Lützow from the fortifications at Gjellebekk unless he could launch a simultaneous attack on the Norwegians from the rear. He therefore ordered Colonel Axel von Löwen to take a long detour around Tyrifjorden with 600 cavalry troopers.

Von Löwen left Christiania on the 26th of March and rode up through Hakedalen up to Harestuskogen.

The *fogd*,¹ Lars Mickelsøn, immediately sent an express message to Lützow about the Swedish column and that he would assemble the local farmers and delay the enemy as long as possible.

Mickelsøn gathered 200 volunteers and constructed barricades in Harestuskogen with cut down trees that Colonel Löwen made his way past only after much effort. The Swedes arrived at Håkenstad on Hadeland in the evening of the 27th. The next day they rode southward again to the Norderhov parsonage.

It is probable that Lars Mickelsøn also had sent a message to his aunt Anna Colbjørnsdatter to let her know what was happening. Her husband, the learned minister Jonas Ramus was ill, and she therefore had to receive the uninvited guests by herself. Anna must have made them feel welcome, since Colonel Löwen and his officers decided to stay the night at the parsonage while the troopers camped around on the farms. The Norwegians thus won some time – and that was just what the sly minister's wife had intended with her gracious hospitality.

The night was cold and the Swedes lighted large fires to keep warm – but the bright flames were treacherous. They could be seen from the farm Stein – and there Oetken's dragoons had arrived.



ANNA COLBJØRNSDATTER

¹ *Fogd* – "sheriff" as in the "Sheriff of Nottingham."

When General Lützow heard from Lars Mickelsøn's messenger about the Swedish raid, he immediately assumed the intent was to attack him simultaneously from two sides and took steps to forestall this.

Three companies of Oetken's dragoon regiment commanded by Major Iver Kaas and Captains Knud Gyldenstjerne Sehested and Jacob Mathisen were ordered to march up the ice-covered Holsfjord to block Löwen's advance.

In the afternoon of the 28th they left Gjellebekk with 300 dragoons and late that night arrived at Stein, which lies about 4 kilometers south of Norderhov. Here they saw the Swedes' camp fires and decided to surprise the enemy immediately while they were sleeping.

Lieutenant Collin was ordered to ride ahead with a troop of 20 dragoons. He was guided by a couple of local men – Thor Hovland and Pål Pytten, according to legend.

A short distance from Norderhov they met a strong Swedish camp guard troop, which was overcome after a bloody fight, and Collin rode on into the parsonage where Colonel Löwen and a couple of officers were taken prisoner.

The road was now clear for the main force, which went to work on the Swedes before they could saddle up.

After three hours of battle, Colonel Löwen, 5 officers, and 250 men were captured. How many Swedish dragoons came back to King Carl to report on the defeat is not known, but just at the parsonage 30 men lay dead and around in the woods many Swedes were later found shot dead by the farmers.



IVER KAAS.

Sehested
Mathisen



K. G. SEHESTED.

The Swedish ranks now had thinned out a lot, and Car XII had to call for more troops. So that these could reach Christiania from the east side, the king would personally lead an attempt to drive off the 3 – 400 farmers that had gathered at

Gjelleråsen¹. The Swedes succeeded in taking the fortifications after a long fight, and on April 14 Carl XII was happy to welcome a reinforcement of 1,100 men commanded by Major General Magnus Julius De la Gardie.

However, all the news were not joyful, since the king now was informed that Count Ascheberg by a shameful withdrawal had broken the Swedish army's communications with Sweden.

Frightened by rumors and lies that the minister in Skjeberg, Peder Rumohr, had filled him up with, Ascheberg had become worried for his own safety and had retreated across the border so fast that he had not even taken the time to advise Colonel Falckenberg at Moss that he was leaving.

Encouraged by his successful battle with the farmer militia at Gjelleråsen, King Carl decided to make another try at advancing westward by way of Tyrifjorden. The Södermannland Regiment under Colonel Baron Christen von Schlippenbach was to clear the way for a following corps. This time the Swedes marched through Bærum up to Krokskogen. Since General Lützow also had thought of the possibility that Löwen's interrupted march might be tried again with a larger force, Captain Anthony de Coucheron was sent up to Krokskogen with his company of the Oppland Regiment and 50 dragoons. The *fogd* Lars Mickelsøn joined him there with 300 combative farmers from Telemark who had come to help fight the enemy. A strong breastwork of rocks and timbers was hurriedly constructed in Krokkleiva.

In the evening of April 16 Schlippenbach came marching up through Krokskogen. Coucheron had hardly had time to position his forces before his scouts reported the enemy's approach. The men were ordered not to fire until the enemy vanguard had entered the gap so that the Swedes would not notice anything amiss until too late to back out. Then the command "Fire!" was given, and the whole vanguard except a few men fell to the ground.

2 – 300 Swedes under Major Conrad von Nieroth then tried to storm the breastworks, but a destructive musket fire forced them to turn back. Both Nieroth and Captain Anders Möller were fatally wounded. Schlippenbach next sent his whole regiment against the Norwegians, but they suffered the same fate, and his great losses then forced Schlippenbach to retreat to Bærum.

At this unpleasant news, King Carl himself left Christiania accompanied by the army's second in command, Major General von Dellvig, and rode out to

¹ [This sentence only makes sense if it refers to a plan for the reinforcements to cross over the Oslo Fjord below Drammen and advance up the west side of the fjord.]

reconnoiter Coucheron's position, which by then had been significantly reinforced – and the result was that he gave up all thoughts of advancing in that direction.

A memorial tablet that the minister Daniel Ramus erected on the battlefield stated:

*Hvad tænchte Svendske, da de Nordmænd her vil giæste?
Mon de i Aggershuus sin fod saa fast vil fæste?
Sit Tog paa Nodrehoug mon de forglemte har?
Det staaer da nu til Rest de paa Krogkleven var.*

*Her mødte Coucheron, med Nordske Voved Trøye,
At Døden lugte strax paa Svendsken mangt et Øye,
Som til sit Fødestad forglemte at gaae hjem;
Kom Svendske aldrig her, naar de betænke Dem.*

*Stat stille Vandringsmand blandt disse Kampesteene.
Skue her Valpladsen an, Skue her de Dødes Beene;
Thi schal en Støtte her til Ævig Minde staa,
Og Gud en Ævig tach hos efterkommer faa.¹*

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'A. Coucheron'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial 'A' and a long, horizontal stroke extending to the right.

However, it might be argued that it would have been better if some of the enemy's troops had gotten beyond Krokskogen. The divided Swedish invasion forces could then hardly have avoided being completely torn to pieces, since it had finally pleased the Union king to send home the Norwegian regiments that he had kept in Denmark all the time since Stralsund was conquered in 1715.

Despite the urgent representations of Hausmann, Lützow, and the "Castle Law" that the Norwegian troops were badly needed in Norway, they had been kept down there.

If Denmark at that time had been threatened by a hostile invasion – then the Union king's remissness could perhaps be forgiven – but that had certainly not been the case.

¹ [This is some bad doggerel, and I also think some words are miscopied, so I will not try to translate.]

Our brothers to the south had even led such a peaceful existence that His Majesty could issue an order to the regimental commanders to "take care that knee breeches and stockings be of the same bright red color as the uniform coats and that the collars and wristbands of these should be of plush rather than plain cloth as formerly"!!!



KROK KLEIVA.

Therefore the absolute monarch's dilatoriness in sending the Norwegian regiments home again cannot be condemned strongly enough.

Vice-Admiral Gabell sailed from Copenhagen on the 6th of April with 7 ships of the line and 6 frigates. The Norwegian troops were onboard.

The regiments were still fully manned, since recruits had been sent from Norway while they were in Germany to replace the fallen – 4,000 men altogether. The squadron entered the Christiania Fjord on the 16th. Commodore Wibe was ordered to station himself outside Hvaløyene with the battleships to guard against the Swedish ships that were to bring the siege artillery up from Gothenburg, and three frigates were ordered to force their way through the ice up to Christiania.



A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "C. J. Gabell".

Gabell himself traveled up to Gjellebekk to confer with Lützow. Their council of war resulted in a decision to make another attack on Moss.

Most of the returning troops were therefore set ashore in Rolfsøysund and 500 men of the Frederiksstad garrison under Lieutenant Colonel Henrik Jørgen Huitfeldt were carried by sea to Kambo, a little north of Moss. At the same time, Colonel Vincents Budde with 1,000 men of the 2nd Trondhjem and Bergenhus Regiments marched up from Rolfsøy.

Moss was completely surrounded, but since Colonel Falckenberg would not surrender without a fight, the Norwegians were forced to storm the town. The Swedes barricaded the streets and defended themselves with great tenacity, but the superiority in forces was too great, and when Falckenberg was fatally wounded, he gave the order to surrender.

Besides 4 battle flags and a lot of provisions, the enemy on this occasion lost 622 dead, wounded, and captured. Among the latter were Lieutenant Colonel Rydingsvärd, 6 captains, and 2 lieutenants.

On the same day – the 23^d of April – the Swedes also lost Wismar, their last foothold in Germany.

When Carl XII heard about Falckenberg's surrender and the arrival of the Norwegian troops, he finally had to reconcile himself to leaving Christiania with his much reduced army.

The night between the 29th and 30th of April the cannon on Akershus fired the unwelcome guests a last salvo to send the Swedes on their way as they crawled over Ekebergåsen.

It was indeed high time for the Swedes to leave as the Norwegians were moving in from all around to block their retreat.

If the Union king had not sent Lützow some Danish officers as counselors, the Norwegians might have succeeded in preparing another Poltava for King Carl, but the Danish officers – they had probably also been there at Helsingborg and Gadebusch – recommended that Lützow proceed slowly and cautiously against the battle hardened Swedish troops. This untimely caution resulted in the enemy slipping away over Glomma and at Onstad and Grønsund without further losses. From there the retreat continued to the Torpum Mansion, where King Carl established his headquarters on May 12th. Here he received substantial reinforcements from Sweden. General Dellvig had been sent home to find out where Ascheberg had gone off to, and he now returned with Ascheberg's corps and a couple of new regiments.



Carl XII

The Swedish army thus was brought up to 12,500 men, and since General Lützow thought it possible the Swedes would make another try at taking Christiania, he positioned his army in several separate contingents between Frederiksstad and Onstad.

But bitter experience had taught Carl XII that the Norwegians were masters of small-scale warfare and concluded that the Swedes would have to acquire a strong base point before they could mount another invasion. He therefore decided to first conquer Frederikshald with Frederikssten Fortress.

This was a very good idea – if he could only carry it out!

King Carl had no doubts about that. The failed attack on Akershus did not cause him any anxiety for the successful outcome of his campaign. He was not a self-doubter, this martial dreamer and philosopher.

It had also been reported that Sweden's boldest naval warrior, the elderly Olof Knape, had brought the long awaited siege artillery transport fleet into Dynekilen – only 30 kilometers from Frederikshald. This so pleased King Carl that he paid a short personal visit to Dynekilen, where he ennobled Knape under the name Strömstierna.

If the transport fleet had gotten this far, it could surely be successfully brought up to Svinesund, and then the siege artillery it carried would soon force Frederikssten to surrender.

That is what the Swedes thought. But both May and June passed without Strömstierna daring to try forcing his way through Gabell's squadron up to Svinesund. Then the fidgety king's patience ran out and he again got the senseless notion of attacking a Norwegian fortress with just swords and muskets.

If Carl XII had used his entire army to carry out the plan, the outcome might still have been a success, but that was not the king's intent. He thought a couple of thousand men should be sufficient and the victory easy enough if the assault came as a surprise.



HANS JACOB BRUN

The defense of Frederikshald and Frederikssten was entrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Hans Jacob Brun. The garrison consisted of a battalion of the Vestfold Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Steen Blix, a battalion of the 2nd Thronhjelm Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Barthold Nicolay von Landsberg, a company of the Small Fiefs (Østfold) Regiment under Captain Rømer, and an artillery company under Captain Carl von Reitzenstein for a total of ca. 1,100 men, and since Frederikssten was well supplied with provisions, General von Lützow had no fears for the safety of the fortress.

The burghers of Frederikshald had already shown that they would not fail to live up to their proud traditions from the times of Carl X Gustaf. A volunteer company had been formed in March commanded by the leader of the civilian resistance in Frederikshald to the Swedish invasion, the wealthy merchant Peder Colbiørnsen, son of Kield Stub's daughter. Faithfully supported by his brother Hans, the merchant Jacob Wærn, and several of the town's leading citizens he had in all possible ways sought to make it as hot as possible for the unbidden guests. Time and again smaller roving Swedish patrols were savaged by Colbiørnsen's volunteers.

Thus an enemy outpost was completely destroyed on the 8th of March at Kirkebøen in Enningdalen where the Swedish Captain Lehmann lay encamped with a cavalry company and a couple of companies of armed farmers.

Colbiørnsen got good intelligence about the Swedish positions at Kirkebøen through Ole Svendsen Bakke, the sexton at the church at Idd. The commandant lent him 10 soldiers led by Lieutenant Even Kraft and with 80 men from Colbiørnsen's sawmill, Bakke marched through the dark of night down to Kirkebøen. Lehmann put up a brave resistance, but several of his men crept away into hiding. A cavalry trooper concealed behind a barn bridge took a shot at Ole Svendsen who fell down fatally wounded. One of his men went to minister to him, but was told: "Let me lie in the name of Jesus; tell my wife and young children. I am content; you do what you can."



MEMORIAL FOR OLE BAKKE

Enraged by the death of their beloved sexton, the Norwegians fought with ferocity, and Lieutenant Kraft barely managed to save the wounded Captain Lehmann, who surrendered with 50 of his men.

Colbiørnsen's volunteers did not content themselves with only attacking the enemy on Norwegian soil. In late June they crossed Svinesund in boats and captured 111 artillery horses and 26 herdsman.

But now King Carl wanted to make a quick end to these irritating pinpricks – the time for sweet revenge had come.

Due to lack of space, most of the Frederikssten Fortress' garrison had been quartered outside its walls. Some companies were distributed around in the town's residences and the rest were housed in barracks behind the so-called

"*Borgerskanse*" ["Burgher Breastwork"]. King Carl knew about this, and on this he formed his plan.

The Swedes left Torpum in the evening of July 3^d. All the roads leading to Frederikshald were blocked off by cavalry patrols before they left so that none of the local farmers should slip into the town and warn the commandant.

The Swedes first marched eastward and then crossed over the Tista River at Skåningsfossen. From here they sneaked as quietly as possible along the riverbank down toward the town.

The corps was divided into two columns. 1,300 infantry soldiers under the Colonels Schlippenbach and Rosenstierna was to surprise the part of the garrison that was quartered by *Borgerskansen*, while Lieutenant. Colonel Fuchs with 600 infantry reinforced by 400 cavalry under Colonel Löwenstern moved into the town itself and captured the rest of the garrison.



MEMORIAL FOR THE COLBIÖRNSEN
BROTHERS.

Fifty-eight volunteers from Dalarna served as a kind of *avant-garde*. They left behind all firearms and ammunition so that they could quickly and silently cut down the Norwegian guard posts.

The cavalry companies, which were to help where most needed, had been given twice the number of officers and, in addition, King Carl himself joined the cavalry together with the Major Generals Dellvig and Schommer.

The well-ordered assault plan was a credit to the warrior king. That the Swedes still suffered such a crushing defeat was entirely due to their opponents being men who would maintain Halden's proud record.

The commandant had posted a guard of 25 men under Lieutenant Helle Thorbiørnsen by the churchyard gate. A heavy, misty air lay over the town, and the guard did not discover the enemy until Rutensparre and his men from Dalarna stormed forth with drawn swords.

But Thorbiørnsen managed to sound the alarm and hold back the *avant-garde* until relief arrived. The badly wounded Rutensparre then had to retreat to the main force with 7 men – 51 were left behind in the churchyard.

The burghers had installed a small battery nearby, and it now began to open fire against Rutger Fuchs and Löwenstern, who were advancing with all their men, but only when most of the defenders had fallen could the enemy proceed farther into the town.

Here King Carl got an unexpected addition of several hundred soldiers who came running into the town square – it was the remains of the second column.



HANS JACOB BRUN.

AB.

As mentioned above, Schlippenbach and Rosenstierna were to take the burgher breastwork by surprise, but nearby they encountered a small guard detail under Lieutenant Claus Mortensen. He sounded the alarm and resolutely blocked the way for the assaulting enemy troops with his 25 men. Only over his dead body could the Swedes advance farther – but then it was too late. The 2nd Trondhjem Regiment, which slept fully clothed in the burgher breastworks, had time to get on their feet and Landsberg soon brought them into order. When the Swedes with Schlippenbach in the lead tried to storm the breastwork gate, whole ranks were mowed down by well-directed fire.

They tried to break the gate open with their muskets, but all efforts were in vain. Schlippenbach fell dead, and with a loss of 300 men the attackers had to flee down toward the square.

Here Lieutenant Colonel Blix had positioned his Vestfold Regiment behind a breastwork of planks. The whole Swedish force now turned toward him.

After a brave resistance and bleeding from several wounds he was obliged to retreat to the fortress, while Captain Christian von Calneyn covered the move with his company. Landsberg also came up to Frederikssten, since he had used up his ammunition. It was then 1 o'clock – and King Carl was master in the town.

However, that was of short-lived and mixed satisfaction, since the fortress now began to fire its shells and bombs at the unbidden guests.

Most of the town's women and children had been brought to safety out on Sauøya or to the Colbiørnsen farm at Eskeviken.

The burghers had previously agreed that the commandant could set the town on fire with hotshot if the enemy occupied it – and it looked like King Carl intended to stay where he was for the time being, since the Swedes soon got to work putting out the fires.

King Carl several times during the morning had requested a ceasefire for burying the fallen, but his only answer was that the dead would get a decent burial as soon as he was gone from the town.

Of course, the commandant understood that the Swedes only wanted to stall for time until they could receive reinforcements from Torpum, and it therefore was essential to force the enemy out as soon as possible.

In order to get a better view of the town, the Swedish king went up into a house situated on a knoll belonging to a merchant named Walcker. Peder Colbiørnsen was told about this by a message from his sister, who had chosen to remain in the town. He got Captain Reitzenstein to aim some rounds at Walcker's house, and about 2 o'clock a bomb penetrated the roof over the room where the king was at the time. The shell exploded among the rafters, and the splinters flew around the ears of those present.



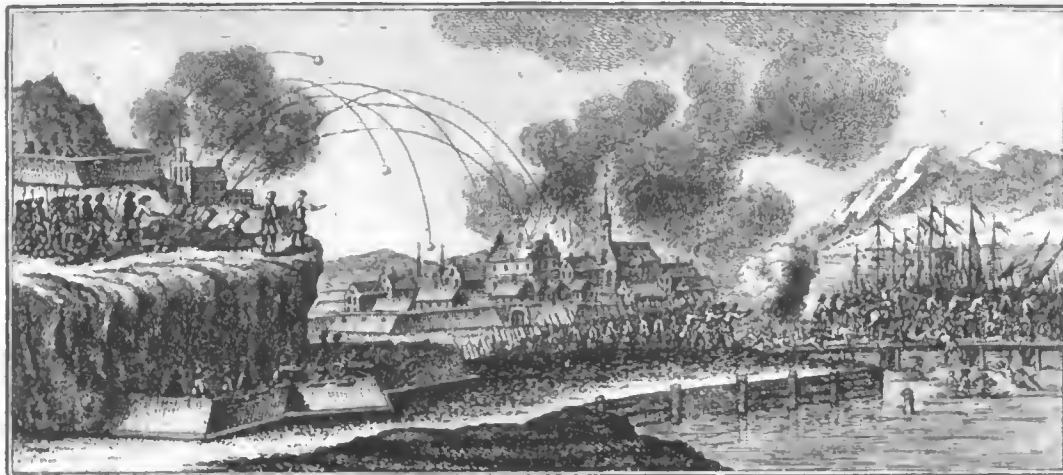
CARL VON
REITZENSTEIN

By a miracle, no one was killed. Carl himself escaped with some minor cuts and bruises. He got up off the floor and calmly said: "The Lord protects His anointed!"

The Swedish warrior king may have been justified in assuming divine grace, since during his heroic career he had numerous times escaped certain death.

Nor would it be long before King Carl got additional support for his belief that he was a unique being under God's special protection, since when he left Walcker's house shortly after the bomb incident, another shot from the fortress stretched Major General Dellvig lifeless before his feet.

The commandant then resorted to the final expedient for getting rid of the enemy. Since bombs and cannon balls did not work fast enough, it was decided to set the town on fire from several sides. Peder Colbjørnsen got his farmhand to throw lighted bundles of pine pitch into his own house and those of his nearest neighbors. Other burghers followed his example, and soon the town became too hot – even for King Carl.



J. G. F. Schuch. Sc.

Vaa Normands Tappehed og patriotiske Dyer
De Fredrichsholde her, et rart Exempel giver
1716.

J. G. F. Schuch. Sc.

All attempts at putting out the fires were in vain, and if he did not wish to be buried under the ruins of the town with the rest of his army, he must get away as quickly as possible.

Carl finally came to this sensible conclusion that evening. However, he could not retreat along the riverbank that he had come in by, since the burning houses blocked the way. The Swedes had to try to cross the bridge that connects South Halden with the northern quarter of the town, but the bridge had been broken apart by the burghers. With great efforts the enemy managed to patch the bridge together again under constant fire from the fortress' cannon.

If the bridge had been completely destroyed earlier, then, as Carl XII's biographer, Jöran Nordberg, wrote, — "as far anyone can see, not a living soul of the whole command would have escaped from there."

The Swedish king got across the river with 900 men – and 94 Norwegian farmers, burghers, and soldiers.

These 94 prisoners probably were the costliest the Swedes ever captured. Approximately 1,200 of Sweden's bravest sons lay under the burning ruins of Frederikshald and in the Tista River.

In addition, 1 captain, 5 lieutenants, 15 non-commissioned officers, and 176 soldiers were taken prisoner.

Beside the king's personal friend and the army's second in command, Major General von Dellvig, Major general von Schommer, Colonel *Friherre* Christer von Schlippenbach, the Majors Herman Spalding and *Friherre* Knut Sparre, 10 captains – among them Harald Silversparre and Göthenstierna – and 23 lieutenants were recognized among the dead.

The Norwegians also suffered serious losses – 133 dead and wounded. Among the former were Captain von Calneyn and the Lieutenants Mortenssen and Schow.



CHRISTIAN VON CALNEYN

However, King Carl still had not lost his desire to conquer Frederikssten. When Strömstierna finally came up from Dynekilen with the siege artillery – well, then!

He thought that transporting the siege engines over land would have been too much trouble, but it would certainly have been the safest way, since hardly a week after the defeat at Frederikshald an urgent message for King Carl reported that – Tordenskiold had paid a visit to Dynekilen.

Following the battle by Colberger Heide the year before, the young Captain Wessel had become captain of the captured Swedish frigate "*Hvita Örn*" ["*White Eagle*"] and with this ship the Norwegian naval hero carried out such bold exploits that a white eagle was placed in one of the fields in the coat of arms that the Union king awarded Tordenskiold 24 February 1716.





TORDENSKJOLD COAT OF ARMS.

On this occasion the hero is said to have exclaimed: "Tordenskiold! Then by the Devil, I will thunder so about Swedish ears that Your Majesty soon will hear about it!" – and this promise he fulfilled in the most brilliant way in Dynekilen.

As captain of "*Hvide Örn*" he had followed Gabell up to Norway. Most of the ships in the squadron had too deep draft to go into the shallow waters between the coastal islands, but a number of flat-bottomed vessels that had been used the previous year in the siege of Stralsund lay in Copenhagen. Gabell had requested that these be sent up to him, but had not received any reply, and in late May he therefore sent Tordenskiold down to Copenhagen to press the matter.

In his plain and straightforward way Tordenskiold explained the dangerous situation threatening Frederikssten to the slow moving bureaucrats in the Admiralty, and the king immediately ordered the vessels to be outfitted.

Under the cheerful and enthusiastic leadership of the young naval hero the work went so quickly that he could go to sea with his little fleet already on the 2nd of July. The squadron consisted of the frigates "*Hvide Örn*," commanded by Tordenskiold himself, and "*Vindhunden*," commanded by Lieutenant Peter Grib, *stykkprammene*¹ "*Hielperen*," Lieutenant Commander W. Lemvig, and "*Arche Noæ*," Lieutenant Commander H.C. de l'Estang, and the galleys "*Printz Christian*," "*Lovise*," and "*Charlotte Amalie*" under the Lieutenants Michael Tønder, Christian Tønder, and Niels Dahl. The ships carried a total of 141 cannon and a crew of 931 men.²

It was the first time that Tordenskiold commanded such a large force, and it must have been with a proud feeling that the 24 year old captain hoisted his squadron commander's pennant on "*Hvide Örn*."

It was only with some doubts that the king bestowed the command on his favorite. Tordenskiold had certainly showed himself to be an outstanding frigate captain, but now he had prove he was capable of greater things. Just to be sure, the Admiralty gave him firm orders to report to Admiral Gabell as soon as possible.

¹ *Stykkpram* – "artillery pram" in English; ship similar to frigates, but flat-bottomed and flat-decked with no fore- or sterncastle so as to carry more large cannon and mortars. They were not very seaworthy and were used as heavy artillery platforms for either offense or defense in the shallow coastal waters around northern Europe.

² [Tordenskiold and Lemvig exchanged ships for the attack in Dynekilen. The name of the commander on "*Lovise*" was Henrik Tønder not Christian, and he was Michael's cousin, not a brother. Also Henrik Tønder and Niels Dahl's rank was "*måneds løytnant*" – "month's lieutenant" – meaning they had temporary appointments that could be terminated with a month's notice.]

Before the squadron departed from Copenhagen, reports were received that a Swedish transport fleet carrying artillery and provisions to the army besieging Frederikssten had left Gothenburg. It was essential to find and engage this fleet before it was too late.

Tordenskiold arrived at Koster in the evening of the 8th of July after having captured a couple of Swedish privateers on the way up. Here he received information that Gabell's squadron lay at anchor by Makøy on Nordre Sandøy and the Swedish fleet still lay in Dynekilen. Later in the night they caught some Swedish fishermen, who confirmed the reports and also said that several of the Swedish officers had been invited to attend a wedding on a nearby farm.

According to his orders from the Admiralty Tordenskiold really should have sent a boat to Gabell to report his arrival at Koster, but the wind was favorable, and since the young naval hero always had been in the habit of reading his orders in the way most propitious for the mother country, he immediately formed a plan to attack the Swedes before they could come out from their cozy refuge.

In Dynekilen – the narrow fjord that cuts into Båhuslen between Koster and the Whale Islands – *Schoutbynacht* Strömstierna lay at anchor with 1 *stykkpram*, 11 galleys, some coastal vessels, and 21 transport ships. Their crews totaled about 900 men and they carried 105 cannon.

The inlet passage is hardly 50 meters wide at its narrowest point, and 600 soldiers had been posted as sentries at several points. Strömstierna also had set up a strong battery on an island in the passage. No wonder that the Swedes felt secure from hostile attack – it would take a Tordenskiold to attempt it.

Tordenskiold lifted anchor at dawn the 9th of July and steered in through the outer islands under a fresh southerly breeze. While sailing through the cramped waters "*Hvide Örn*" ran up alongside "*Vindhunden*" and Tordenskiold hailed over to his plucky friend Lieutenant Grib:

"I have heard that the Swedish *schoutbynacht* is giving a party for his officers today. Shall we join them unbidden?"

"We have the day before us, " replied Grib, "if the captain gives the order I am game for it and the sooner the better while the wind holds. May God grant us good fortune!"

This is said to be the only council of war held before the battle. Though Strömstierna did not expect an attack, he still had been cautious enough to position a couple of galleys and a gunboat outside the narrow inlet to guard against fire ships.

Tordenskiold had never been in Dynekilen before and therefore went onboard "*Printz Christian*" to reconnoiter the unfamiliar waters. When it approached the inlet, the guard ships hastily retreated to warn of the enemy's approach, but the Swedes were so unprepared for this audacious attack that the Danish-Norwegian squadron passed through almost all of the 5 kilometers long passage before the alarm was sounded. Tordenskiold then turned the command on "*Hvide Örn*" over to Lemvig and went aboard "*Hielperen*," which sailed in front of the squadron.

At half past seven in the morning, the squadron arrived at the bottom of the fjord where the Swedish fleet lay at anchor and was received with heavy cannon fire from both the fleet and the battery on the island.¹ However, Tordenskiold did not return fire until he had brought his ships to anchor in line of battle with springs on the cables so that their broadsides could be brought to bear on the Swedish ships. The wind had completely died off and the battling ships were soon enveloped in dense powder smoke. The cannonade continued with undiminished intensity for three full hours, but then the Swedes' fire began to weaken.

In order to hurry up the victory, Tordenskiold then had "*Hielperen*" and "*Arche Noæ*" warped closer to the enemy's line of battle and continued the fight within musket fire range. Strömstierna defended himself with stiff-necked stubbornness, but when the Tønder brothers around one o'clock captured the annoying battery on the island, he had to give up. The galleys and the transport ships were run aground and the crews fled up into the mountainsides. A few men were left behind on each ship to blow them up when the Norwegians and Danes came to take possession of them.



MICHAEL CHRISTIAN
LUDWIG TØNDER

¹ [This cannot be the battery on the island *Stora Krossön*, which by then lay about 3 kilometers to the rear. Strömstierna must have set up another land battery on *Ladholmen*, a headland in the inner harbor.]

The actual battle was over, but the situation still remained extraordinarily hazardous for the victors. The enemy's ships had to be blown up, scuttled, or carried off as prizes if the purpose of the attack was to be attained. It also was essential to slip out before darkness fell.

The violent cannonade had alerted all Swedish troops in the vicinity of Dynekilen of the attack and they hurried to relieve their comrades. Soon there were almost 4,000 soldiers swarming behind rock outcrops and between the trees trying to keep their reckless enemies away from the beached ships.

But Tordenskiold and his brave men were not deterred. They were fighting for their mother country, old Norway, and this inspired them to superhuman exertions.

Tordenskiold's crews now began the dangerous work of salvaging the enemy ships. To keep the Swedes from getting a good aim, he had all his vessels maintain a lively cannonade, which filled the whole inner harbor with powder smoke. Everywhere Tordenskiold was the commanding leader for the quite fantastic deeds that were now carried out under the very eyes of the superior enemy forces.

Michael Tønder and Peter Grib must be especially mentioned for this remarkable day.

Tønder had already the previous year lost a leg in a sea battle by the island of Rügen, but he did better service with his wooden leg than most who had both their legs intact.

After having spiked the cannon on the island, he saw smoke rising from a transport ship. He immediately ordered his crew to row up alongside, leapt aboard, and saw a tub with burning tar placed under the main hatch. Tønder sent his quartermaster down to hand up the tar tub, but he immediately shot back up from the hatch like a rocket and ran past his captain yelling: "The ship is loaded with powder! It's going to blow!"

The undaunted Tønder calmly had the nearest sailors strip off their shirts, dip them in water, and quench the fire. He then went below into the hold with a couple of men and found an open powder barrel with a burning fuse next to the barrel – a couple of seconds later, and the vessel would have blown sky-high with Tønder and his crew.

Similar hair-raising adventures were experienced by most of the officers boarding the enemy ships, but not all came away as luckily as Tønder. Lieutenant Høeg was hit under his eye by a musket ball and a ball struck Lieutenant Willer in the chest and he fell dead down into the boat. Cadet Sivertsen, who had just

boarded the galley "*Wreden*," which Strömstierna had commended, was blown high in the air with 3 of his sailors. As by a miracle Sivertsen himself escaped with a few light wounds and a cold bath

Scoutbynacht Siöbladh's barge lay in a small cove and one of Tordenskiold's officers rowed in with a gunboat to capture it, but the Swedish infantry sent such a rain of bullets down over the small vessel that the officer had to retreat with a loss of several dead and wounded. Tordenskiold became so angry about this that he harshly scolded the young man.



THE CAPTURE OF "*STENBOCKEN*."

Lieutenant Christian [Henrik?] Tønder then stepped in and promised to capture the barge. With some Swedish seamen prisoners that he just had caught, he rowed away, and he actually did succeed in getting the admiral's barge towed out to the squadron.

One by one as the enemy vessels were taken over, they were towed out through the fjord. Finally only two ships were left – *stykkprammen "Stenbocken"* and the galley "*Ulysses*."

"*Stenbocken*" was the largest Swedish ship. It carried 24 cannon – ten of them 18 pounders – and had been commanded by *Schoutbynacht* Siöbladh. Tordenskiöld himself commanded a gunboat and rowed into the bay where Siöbladh had anchored his ship. When Grib saw his beloved leader so exposed to the enemy's fire, he followed after and leaped aboard Tordenskiöld's boat, who asked him if he thought it possible to get the ships out under the Swedish infantry's intense musket fire. Grib said it might be done, but would certainly exact a heavy cost in dead and wounded. The hot-blooded hero was so overcome that his friend approved of his plan that he threw his arms around him.

Following the reconnaissance, "*Vindhunden's*" anchor was raised and before a very soft breeze steered toward "*Stenbocken*." We will let Grib himself carry on the story:

"I then went down into the barge and brought the topline over to "*Stenbocken*" under the enemy's intense musket fire. Cadet Ferry, my quartermaster, and 5 men of the barge crew were wounded by musket balls from which wounds Cadet Ferry died, but the others recovered. I got some scratch wounds from balls that only nicked my skin and tore my clothes without doing much damage. When I went aboard "*Stenbocken*," a Swedish officer approached me and asked if he might go down into my barge. I asked if he was not the gunnery lieutenant?, which he confirmed, whereupon I with threats forced him to remain on the ship with me and at once show me where he had laid a fuse to the powder to blow the ship up or I would massacre him on the spot. He then showed me where the fuse was laid with a trail of powder to the powder magazine, which within three minutes must have taken effect, but by God's grace was prevented. I then let the topline be fastened to "*Stenbocken*" and the galley "*Ulysses*" with the *stykkpram* behind and called out to Tordenskiold and signaled the frigate to wind up the slack in the line. I then came, praise God, safely out to the frigate with the prizes, where Tordenskiold, who had stayed on the frigate, thanked me and assured me that he in his report to His Majesty in particular would recommend my person for merit for having shown vigilance and bravery against the enemy. He then left me to go onboard "*Hielperen*.""

P. G. 1.



TORDENSKIOLD IN DYNEKILEN

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By nine o'clock in the evening the inner harbor at Dyne was cleared, and Tordenskiold steered out of Dynekilen with his numerous prizes in tow under heavy fire from the Swedish infantry.

On this memorable day Sweden lost 44 large and small ships. Those still afloat and carried off by Tordenskiold included the *stykkpram* "Stenbocken," the galleys "Proserpina," "Lucretia," "Achilles," "Pollux," "Hector," "Bjørnen," and "Sorte Maren," 2 barges, 1 riverboat, and 19 freighters with weapons, ammunition, and provisions. The next morning he went to anchor in the harbor at Makøy with this rich booty.

When Carl XII received the woeful report of the proud deed accomplished by Tordenskiold and his comrades in arms, he had no other choice but to give up the siege of Frederikssten and retreat to Sweden.

A couple of days after the battle in Dynekilen, Tordenskiold was visited by Vice-Admiral Gabell, who congratulated him on his fortunate victory. He completely ignored that the young hero had acted without orders and even let Tordenskiold himself sail to Copenhagen to report the victory – and receive his well-deserved award from the Union king's own hand.

Friderich IV received his favorite with open arms and promoted him to commodore.

But the warm admiration of both nations was Tordenskiold's greatest award. The Norwegian Viking in the uniform of a naval officer appeared to the common folk as a living fairytale hero. They gathered around him wherever he went, and the poets could hardly find sufficiently high-flown words to praise him in their songs.

The king also let the medallion shown below be presented to all the officers who participated in the battle.



Tordenskiold's brilliant feat of arms in Dynekilen finally put an end to this campaign, which had been an uninterrupted string of defeats for the Swedes. The rest of the Swedish "army of conquest" hurriedly retreated back to Sweden. King Carl had not even managed to advance as far into Norway with his battle hardened elite troops as U.F. Gyldenløve had advanced into Sweden with the Norwegian army in 1677 and 1679.

To show up in Stockholm as a beaten man was intolerable for Carl XII, so he traveled down into Scania and took up his residence in Lund.

Only as victorious conqueror – or on a black bier – would he return to his capital city.

The king had changed his opinion about the Norwegian people's fighting qualities, but armed with the experience gained in his previous attempts, he would give it one more try with his nation's last available reserves.

Every man fit for duty was to be called up for military service and everything was to be pledged as collateral – even the nation's honor. If he wished to attain his objective, he must furnish the means.

King Carl was assisted in this by the greatest schemer of the time, Baron Görtz, who had gained control of Sweden's finances. Millions of worthless copper coins were forced onto the impoverished people, and to put the finishing touch to the nation's economic ruin, almost all of Sweden's trade was consigned to monopolies.



GÖRTZ'S COPPER COINS
WITH SATIRICAL VERSES.

The king worked day and night with all his ruthless energy to organize new legions. This great gambler would now risk it all on one card. The crown of Norway or death. He would not compromise with fate. He still had no doubts that he was an *übermensch*, who could achieve whatever he willed strongly enough.

With astonishing speed King Carl brought the Swedish military back on its feet again. Strömstad was fortified so that his transport vessels could find a safer harbor than Dynekilen, and colossal amounts of war matériel was amassed in Gothenburg .

Tordenskiold, who had now become commander-in-chief of the Union fleet in the North Sea, looked at these preparations with dark foreboding. He knew that they were directed at his mother country. The hero's many envious detractors sought to restrict his war powers to the least possible, but he still decided to see if it nevertheless would be possible to once more frustrate the Swedish king's plans. His heroic attacks on Gothenburg and Strømstad on May 14th and 29th of July 1717 did not go as well as Tordenskiold had hoped, but the daring attacks forced King Carl to divert large army detachments to the vicinity of these two important military depot locations, and this helped cause the attack on Norway to be deferred.

But since Tordenskiold could not present such unmistakable results as from Dynekilen, his enemies persuaded King Friderich to have the cautious Vice-Admiral Andreas Rosenpalm replace the young hero as commander of the North Sea fleet – and so Carl XII could safely take his time to complete his preparations for a decisive attack on Norway.

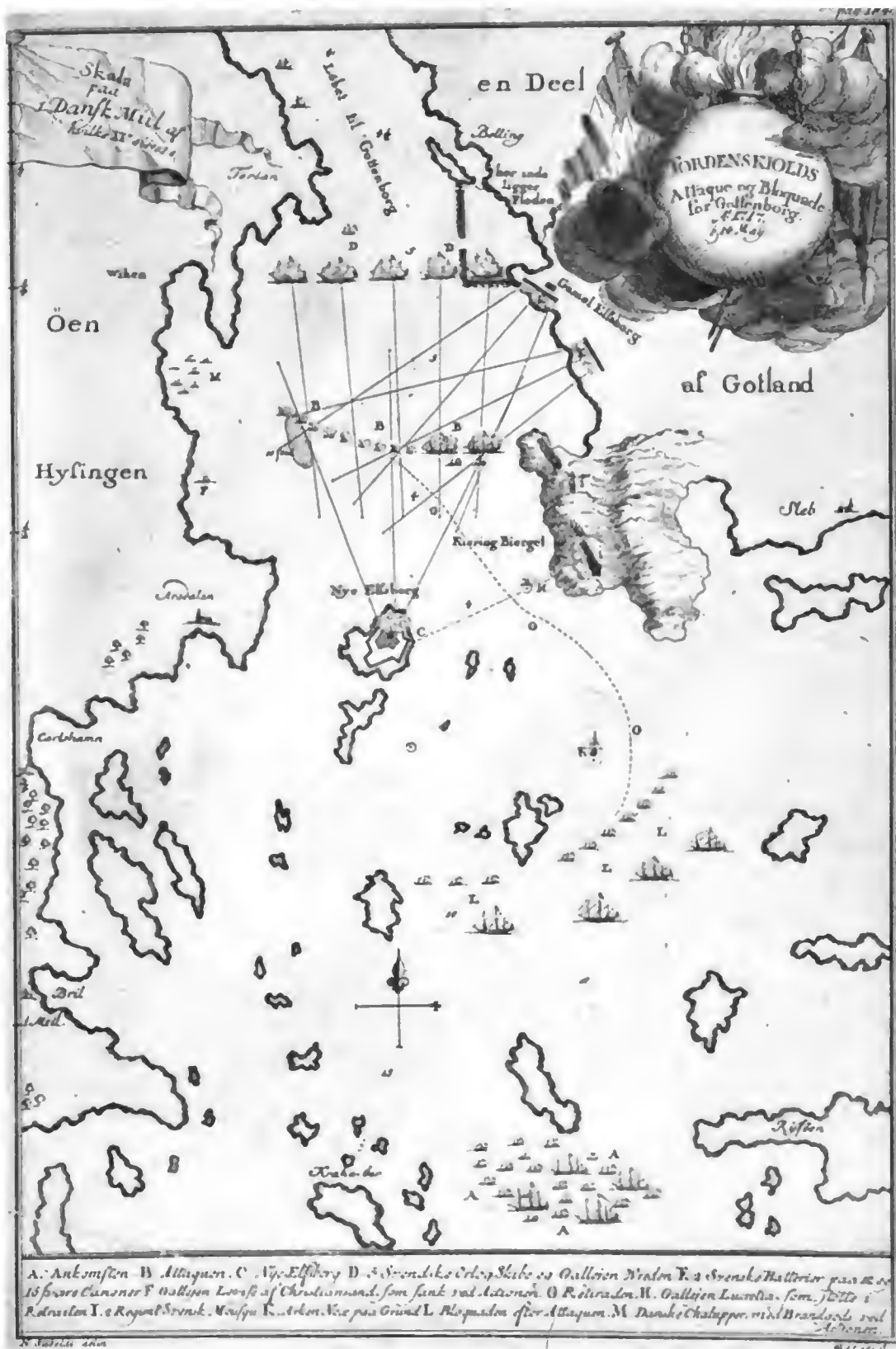
The political situation also began to turn in his favor. The kings of Poland and Prussia no longer had any interest in continuing their wars with Sweden now that the Swedes had been driven out of Germany. By cunning and craft Baron Görtz also succeeded in separating King Friderich and Peter the Great from each other.

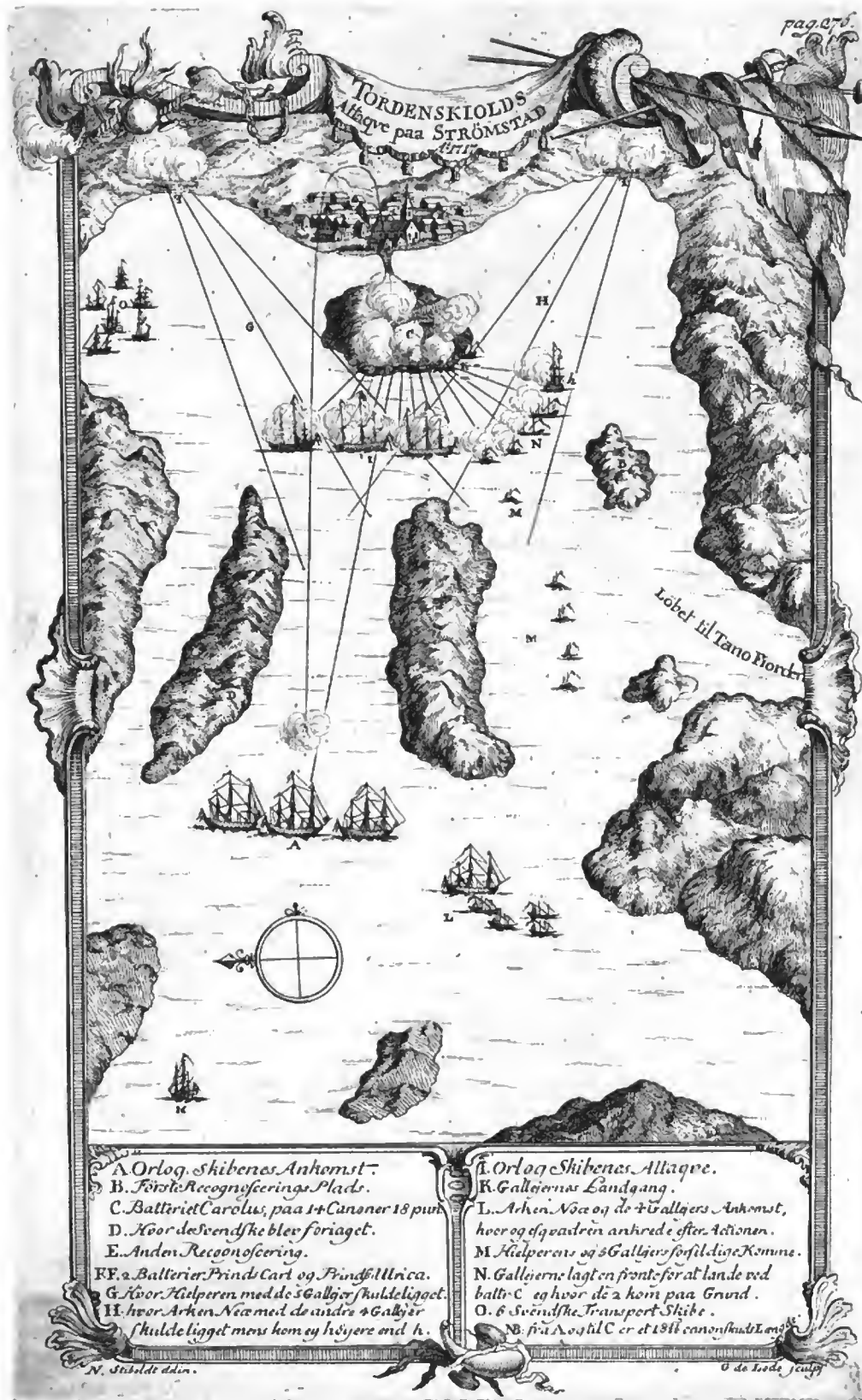
He then initiated peace negotiations with Russia, and the tsar agreed to an armistice while these were being discussed. This was very important since Carl XII then could make use of his battle hardened *Finnish* army for the attack on Norway. Since these troops already were on a full war footing, they were ordered to invade northern Norway as soon as possible. The king himself would lead the invasion into southern Norway with the main army a little later and complete the conquest of the country from that end.

It was a magnificent plan – worthy of the great dreamer.

But a Swedish conquest of the mountainous Norway with its strong, self-reliant inhabitants full of anti-Swedish sentiment could not be anything but a dream – fortunately for both nations – despite the difference in population between Sweden and Norway, which at that time was twice what it is now.

The Norwegians' re-awakened sense of national patriotism was already too strong. Any consistent attempt to transform Norway into a Swedish vassal state would, figuratively speaking, have drowned the Scandinavian Peninsula in blood – *and in all probability have turned the Baltic Sea into a Russian lake before the century ended.*





In June 1718 the Finnish troops began to gather by Storsjøen in Jemtland. Some Swedish regiments were also sent up here. The whole corps was designated as the Jemtland Army and put under the command of Lieutenant General Carl Gustaf Armfeldt.

Armfeldt was one of Sweden's best generals, and King Carl could hardly have made a better choice. It was said that he was as "made and shaped for making war in the north."

His staff officers also were hand-picked men. Several of them had already made their names famous in Sweden's military history. The following may be men-tioned: The cavalry commander Lieutenant General Reinhold Johan de la Barre; the Major Generals Otto Reinhold Ynkull, *Friherre* Erik Fitinghoff, and Bengt Zöge; the Colonels Reinhold Henric Horn, Baron Otto von Maijdell, Carl von Gertten, Lorentz von Nummers, B. Rehbinder, Johan Stiernschantz, and Johan von Zander; the Lieutenant Colonels Robert de la Barre, Conrad von Bildstein, *Friherre* Carl Gustaf Creutz, Gabriel Cronstedt, Fromhold von Essen, *Friherre* Johan Giertta, Glansberg, Carl Hammarskiöld, Peter Jungh, Peter Meijsner, Dettlov Schmidtfeldt, Gustav Skogh, Carl Smidtfeldt, Peter Starenflyght, Ernst Taube, Herman Taube, Nils Wrangell, Berndt Wilhelm von Dellvig, and Güllen-necker.

In early September the Jemtland Army marched across the border to Norway. According to Swedish records it numbered 9,627 men – and against these battle hardened warriors led by officers who had fought on many a European battlefield, the Union army commander in northern Norway, Major General Vincentz Budde, could only muster 5,185 men of regular troops. They were:

1 st	Trondhjem Regiment	1,650	men	under	Colonel	Baltasar	Meitzner.
2 nd	"	"	1,620	"	"	"	Christian Ulrich Storm.
3 ^d	"	"	1,115	"	"	"	Caspar Friderich Myhlenpforth.

Plus the northern dragoon regiment with 500 men under Colonel Peter Motzfeldt, a garrison company with 100 men, and an artillery company with 200 men.

Trøndelagen had so far been spared the horrors of war, but failed harvests and burdensome taxes had brought need and misery to every parish. The war treasury was empty, since the constant alarms had caused repeated call-ups of the militia. A lot of the officers were absolutely useless. For example, the executive officer in the Trondhjem garrison company was 80 years old and none of the artillery company's officers was under 70!

The patriotic spirit was also somewhat lacking among both the burghers and farmers in Trøndelagen.

Few officers have been placed in a worse Urias position than Major General Budde in 1718. The situation looked hopeless. The strengths of the opposing forces bore no comparison – but so much more honor to Vincentz Budde for not giving in when faced with these unequal odds.

The core of the defense forces was formed by the 2nd Trondhjem Regiment, which had fought under his own command against the Swedes in Germany and southern Norway. The rest was of very mixed quality, especially the last reserves called up for military service which increased the total number of troops to ca. 6,500 men – but was hardly a significant improvement for the strength of the defense.

General Budde took over his new post in May 1718 and immediately went to work completing several defensive works already under construction near the border.

In order to save money he let the soldiers stay at home as long as possible. Not until reliable reports were received in July about the enemy's imminent invasion were all the men called under arms.

Budde established his headquarters at Stene Skanse in Verdalen with the 1st Trondhjem Regiment and some dragoons. The 2nd Trondhjem Regiment was stationed near Røros. The rest of the troops were to maintain communications between the two detachments and man several guard posts along the border.

But General Armfeldt did not march along any of the common trails, since he knew that these were guarded and barricaded. The shrewd commander built his own road and thereby succeeded in arriving at Stene on December 12 without Budde being warned of the enemy's approach.

Budde saved his small force from being surrounded by a quick retreat, but Stene Skanse now was occupied by the Swedes. Armfeldt stored his supplies here and established communications with Jemtland.

After the troops had rested, they marched on to Skånes Skanse without Budde making any attempt to halt the enemy's advance. He found it best to move into Trondhjem and gather all his troops there before Armfeldt's superior force got there.

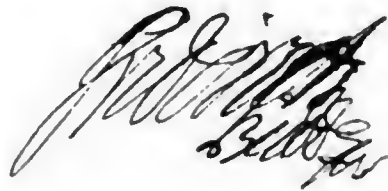
The burghers of the town were very much opposed to this plan. The town council wrote to the government in Christiania and begged to be spared from

Budde's help, since successful defense of the town would in any case be impossible.

Budde, however, was of different opinion, since Trondhjem had never been better fortified. Besides Munkholmen and the town's own earthworks, Trondhjem was defended by the fortress Christianssten. Budde therefore took no notice of the unpatriotic burghers' complaints, but moved into the town and made preparations for defending the capital of northern Norway to the bitter end.

The Swedish army meanwhile had halted by the Stjørdal River where it waited for a few days for provisions that were expected to come from Jemtland. However, the food did not arrive and, since sufficient supplies could not be driven in from the local area, Armfeldt had to retreat to Verdalen again. The frightened burghers in Trondhjem could breathe easier for a while.

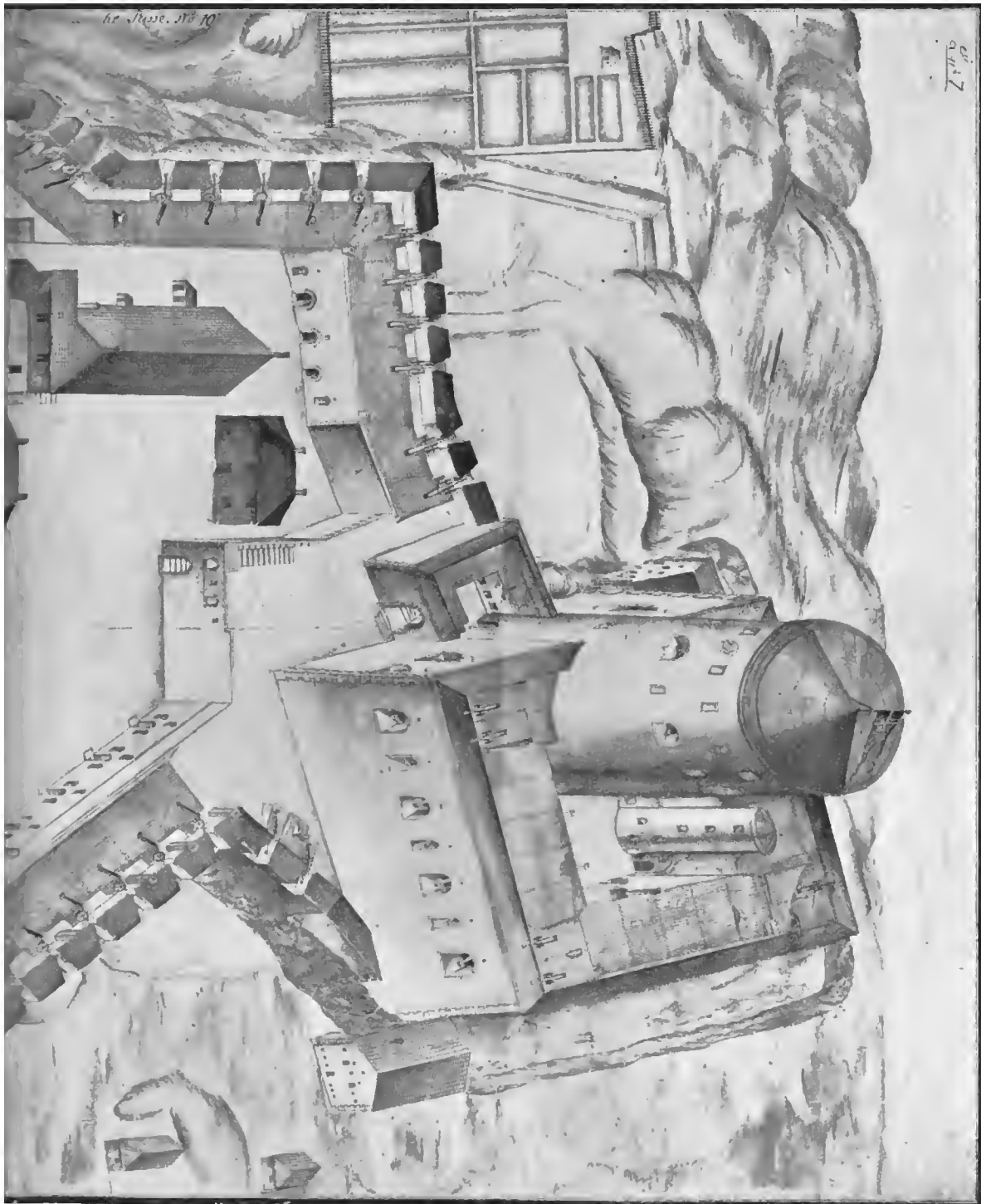
In October a reinforcement of 2,000 men under Colonel Jørgen Otte Brockenhuus, the Lieutenant Colonels Friderich Budde and Friedrich von Rappe from southern Norway arrived, and when a ship of the line, a frigate, and a couple of small freighters with provisions also were sent up to the town, Vincentz Budde soon could go on the offensive. Roving patrols were sent out in all directions and caused great damage to the enemy.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "C. O. Brockenhuus". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized initial "C". There are some additional scribbles and a small mark at the end of the signature.A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Friderich Budde". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized initial "F". There are some additional scribbles and a small mark at the end of the signature.

Armfeldt's position in Verdalen became very difficult. Winter was coming on, and it soon became impossible to gather food from the vicinity. Nothing came from Sweden – except the general adjutants Count Dohna and Didron with a very unpleasant letter from King Carl, who had heard about the retreat to Verdalen. He ordered Armfeldt to as soon as possible "force his way through all obstacles in his way, which it seems could have been less, if sensible steps had been taken in time and with more energy than has been the case so far!"

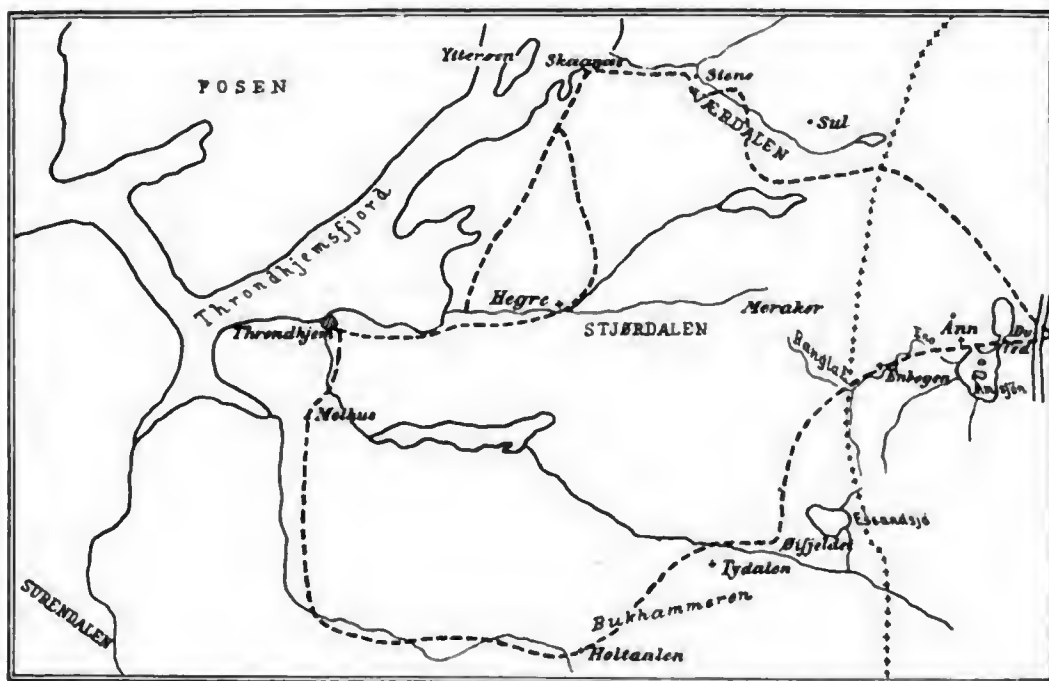


CHRISTIANSSTEN FORTRESS AT



TRONDHJEM IN FRIDERICH IV'S TIME.

The Swedish army thus had to march to Trondhjem without having received provisions or reinforcements. But now it was no longer possible to comply with the relentless king's demand. The fortresses at Christianssten and on Munkholmen were armed with 100 cannon, the warships lay in the harbor, breastworks had been constructed around the town, and the garrison numbered ca. 7,000 men. On the 15th of November Armfeldt's corps was again in the vicinity of Trondhjem, but since he only had a few cannon with him, there of course was no possibility of his attacking Christianssten.



ARMFELDT'S CAMPAIGN IN NORTHERN NORWAY.

On the other hand there was a slight hope of getting into the town from the south or west when the Nid River froze over. The Swedish army therefore encamped near Melhus and from there Armfeldt sent Lieutenant General de la Barre with a regiment of cavalry to establish communications with King Carl, who was assumed to have arrived in southern Norway with the Swedish main army by then. Both Kvikne and Røros were occupied by the enemy, but the Swedes failed to penetrate down through Østerdalen, where Major Even Kraft blocked their progress with the Southern Norway ski company at Femmilsskogen.

Armfeldt also sent a detachment of 100 cavalry under Colonel von Majdell to Surnadalen, but here the Swedes were surrounded by Budde's roving patrols and the local farmers. Only a few men returned alive from this expedition.

Captain Långström, who was to carry Armfeldt's mail to Jemtland, was equally unfortunate. The local farmers had constructed breastworks near Hegra in Stjørdalen, and when he tried to force his way past with his horsemen, the whole troop was shot down.

The letters were brought to Budde, who thus got good information about the enemy's situation.

It was as lamentable as possible. Deep misery ruled in the camp at Melhus. Disease, hunger, and biting cold caused the deaths of hundreds of soldiers. However, the Swedish commander knew how to maintain discipline. He would hold out as long as possible and he still hoped that King Carl would be able to send him reinforcements.

Nor did Budde have a easy time of it in Trondhjem. Provisions had become scarce. Infectious diseases were transmitted from the Swedish camp at Melhus, and by December nearly 2,000 men were unfit for combat. In addition, the burghers – and sorry to say, several of the officers – spoke discontentedly about the commanding general's passive conduct of the war. They felt that the garrison should move out and offer the enemy battle. But Budde was unmovable. He contented himself with sending out roving patrols, which kept the enemy constantly on alert and cut off all gathering of provisions.

This tactic proved to have been the right one. Armfeldt finally had to concede the necessity of retreating with the remainder of his force – the king's order notwithstanding.

He first considered marching home to Jemtland over Skånes and Stene, but his scouts soon returned to report that the cavalry would not be able to ride through the deep snow. Armfeldt then decided to march over Bukhammeren to Tydalen and then across the mountains into Sweden.

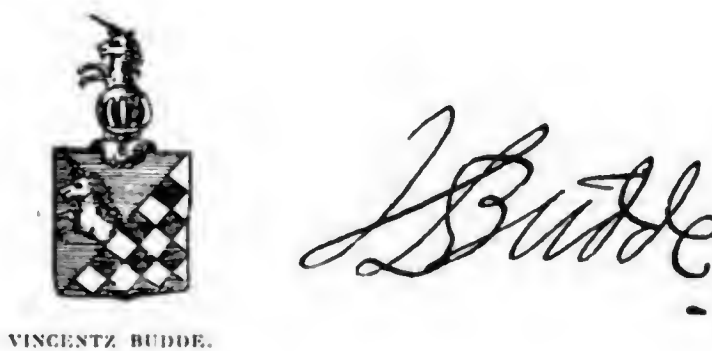
De la Barre was ordered to break up from Røros and join Armfeldt, but 2,000 men who had been left behind at Skånes and Stene were told to return to Jemtland directly across the Sul mountains.

On the 25th of December Armfeldt left the camp at Melhus, surrounded and harassed by a swarm of roving patrols from Trondhjem, and after a very strenuous march over Bukhammeren got down to Tydal in early January. A couple of

hundred men got lost in a snowstorm in the mountains and died from hunger and cold.

During this march – according to Norberg – they had caught a courier who was carrying a letter for Major General Budde with a message that King Carl had been shot in Frederikshald and the main Swedish army had gone back to Sweden. "But since we otherwise had not heard anything about this, we assumed it was a trick contrived by the enemy."

But it was not a trick.



In early November 1718 the main Swedish army in the south began to stir.

From a military point of view it must doubtlessly have been an impressive sight to see these 23,000 infantry soldiers and 11,000 cavalry troopers that now led by Europe's greatest military commander advanced toward the border with Norway bent on total conquest. The French ambassador, Count de la Marc, also stated he would never have believed that Sweden after so many years at war could put such an impressive, well provisioned, and well trained army into the field.

King Carl had chosen a brilliant gathering of well-known warriors as sub-commanders of his troops: Field Marshal Count Carl Gustaf Mörner, General Carl Gustaf Dücker, the Lieutenant Generals *Friherre* Henric Otto von Albedyl and Count Magnus Julius De la Gardie, the Major Generals Otto Wilhel Staël von Holstein, *Friherre* Phillip Bocislaf von Schwerin, Johan Giertta, *Friherre* Diedric Johan von Löwenstern, Sven Lagerberg, *Friherre* Georg Wilhelm Fleetwood, Wilhelm Bennet, *Friherre* Johan Carl Strömfeldt, Göran Silfverhielm, Johan Reinhold von Trautwetter, *Friherre* Carl Cronstedt, Reinhold Wilhelm von Essen, Bengt Ribbing.

The heir apparent to the crown of Sweden, *Landgraf* Friedrich von Hessen-Cassel and Duke Carl Friedrich von Holstein-Gottorp also joined in this campaign to conquer Norway to which the attention of all of Europe was directed.

What did the Norwegians have to put up against this imposing invasion army? Well – the *number* of troops would hardly impress the enemy. Since 8,000 men were stationed around Trondhjem, General von Lützow had only ca. 10,000 men at his disposal – until spring, until spring, when King Friderich was to send 16,000 men up from Denmark!



THE TISTEDAL RIVER.

The troops were positioned about the same as in 1716. Several strong defensive points were constructed along the Tistedal River. A council of war decided that this line should be defended to the last extremity, and a member of the council, the Danish General Schponeck, which the Union king had imposed on Lützow, was charged with the important task of preventing the river being

crossed with 5,000 men. However, Schponeck did a very poor job of carrying out his orders. When he feared being surrounded by the Swedish army, which advanced in three columns from Ørebro, Vestra Ed, and Svinesund, he at once retreated to Skjeberg.

Carl XII thus was able to surround Frederikshald from three sides already by the 15th of November.

Experience had taught the Swedish king that marching his army farther into the country while leaving the fortresses intact behind him did not work very well. They had to be taken first – and Frederikssten was the first encountered. Later the turn would come to Frederiksstad, Akershus, Kongsvinger, Christiansfjeld, Basmo, Blakjær, Åkerø, Stavern – and thereafter Bergenhus, Christianssand, and the other fortresses on Norway's west coast. As for northern Norway – well, this part of the plan was in Armfeldt's charge!

Experience had also taught King Carl that the Norwegian fortresses were constructed of very strong materials. This time he therefore had taken care to bring his siege artillery along with him – and to transport the cannon over land.



A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "B. Landsberg".

Frederikssten now had a new commandant; Colonel Barthold Nicolay von Landsberg, who had distinguished himself in the siege in 1716.

The garrison also had changed. It consisted of:

6 companies of 1st Akershus Regiment under Lt. Col. Erasmus Olsson Strømsøe.

8 companies of The Queen's Life Regiment under Lt. Col. Henrich Werner Diethardt.

4 companies of Rømeling's Hired Regiment under Captains Mohrsen, Printzen.

Schram, and von Hausmann,

1 company of The Small Fiefs' Regiment under Captain zur Helle.

1 company of Bergenhus Regiment under Captain Budler.

1 artillery company under Major Carl von Reitzenstein.

Altogether the garrison totaled 1,481 men under arms.

The Frederikssten fortress had been significantly improved since the last siege, and since the defenders had ample provisions, they took the situation with equanimity. The old tradition would surely prevail – and as fate would have it, this strong border fortress has never fallen to an enemy's siege.

It might have been best to start the siege with taking the town. King Carl considered the idea, but rejected it. He knew the burghers and did not think they would hesitate to burn down their town yet again. He therefore decided to begin the advance from the east side. The Swedish galleys controlled the Idde Fjord and could easily bring up the siege guns.

The Swedes began digging the trenches in the evening of December 5th.

Since 1718 there has been considerable confusion about the location and direction of these trenches. Many maps of the siege of Frederikssten have been published – most of them to prove a point, and therefore more or less unreliable. Extensive exploratory excavations have therefore been undertaken by Norwegian side in the final years of this century – especially searching for the trenches that reached closest up to the fortress, but some of this work might perhaps have been spared.

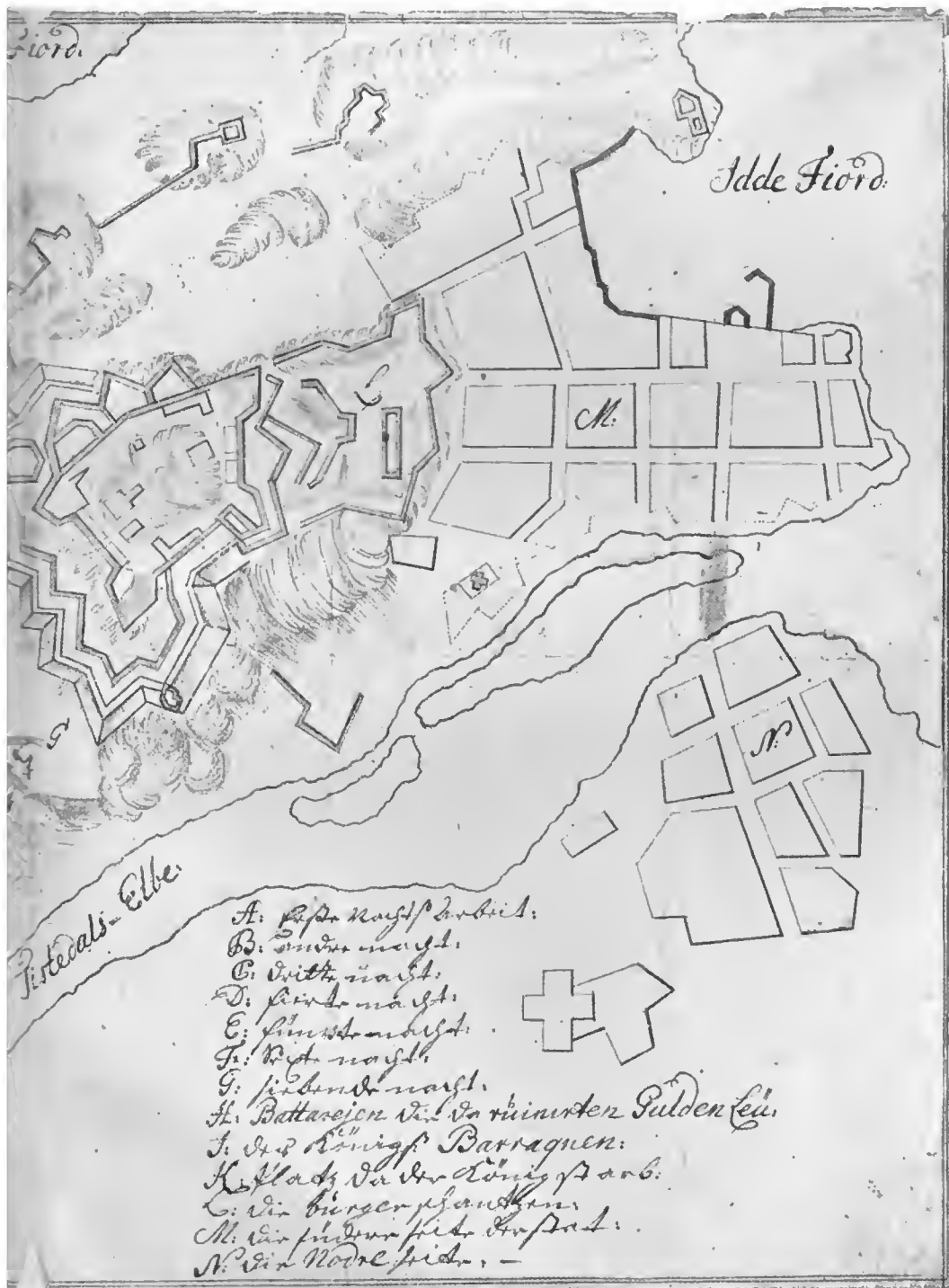
Because in the Norwegian National Archives lies a map, *the reliability of which as a contemporary and first hand source manuscript cannot be disputed*. This map, a facsimile of which is printed for the first time in this work, I found among the reports by the commandant, Colonel Landsberg. It was enclosed with his report of 22 December 1718 to the supreme commander of the Norwegian army Lieutenant General Heinrich von Lützow.

Aided by the map we can follow the development of the siege.

The fort "Gyldenløve (*Guldenleu*) with 6 cannon lay between the fortress and the Swedish camp. This obstruction had to be removed first – but that took time since the Norwegian fire swept the Swedish lines. However, on the 6th of December King Carl succeeded in getting 4 batteries with 18 cannon and 6 mortars set up between the clefts of a rocky outcrop (H–H) ca. 130 meters from the fort. The cannon on "Gyldenløve" were completely destroyed after being exposed to violent fire from the batteries around the clock, and when the Swedes also managed to shoot a breach in the wall of the fort, Landsberg assumed that this outpost soon would fall to the enemy. Its remaining ammunition was therefore brought up to the fortress and most of its defenders withdrawn.

Only 30 men of the Akershus Regiment were left behind commanded by Lieutenant Johan Wibe.





FREDERIKSSTEN FORTRESS

1718

As might be expected, King Carl had become very impatient over the little fort's determined resistance and in the evening of December 8th the fearless warrior king himself led 200 of his royal guard in an assault on the outpost. Siege ladders were set up against the walls, and Carl was the second over the top following Colonel Bousquet. The small crew was overwhelmed – but only after a hot fight that cost Captain Isac Tilliander and several others of the king's companions their lives.

However, Carl did not capture Lieutenant Wibe and 9 others of "Gyldenløve's" brave defenders, who managed to break through the attackers and slip up to the fortress, bleeding from many wounds.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Johan Wibe". The script is cursive and fluid, with a large initial 'J' and 'W'.

The Swedes had now advanced the trenches so far that the terrain permitted the gun crews at "Oberberg" and "Gros Torn" to direct crossfire at the enemy, and this was done with such effect that the Swedish engineer officers lost a fourth of their workforce in the night of December 9th (*E. fünfte Nacht*). King Carl became impatient again, and in order to speed up the trench excavations, he had a shelter (J) constructed near "Gyldenløve." From here he paid repeated visits to the engineer officers through the night of the 10th – and as shown by the map – with good results. The thick fog also helped.

In the evening of the next day – Sunday December 11th – a new forward trench (G–G) was begun. The terrain now prevented "Oberberg" and "Gros Torn" from strafing the work, but the fire from the fortress itself was that much more intense that evening. A veritable hailstorm of shells, grapeshot, and musket balls poured down on the Swedes digging the trench. The distance between the new line and the fortress was not much over 100 meters.

After having his evening meal in his shelter, King Carl and his staff went into the parallel trench (F–F). In order to better see the Swedish workers, Landsberg had hung burning tar torches around on the fortress walls that faced the enemy. The area was also intermittently illuminated by light balls ["star shells"].

The effect of the Norwegian fire seemed to answer to the expectations of the besieged. Dead bodies and sundered limbs were strewn before the king's feet, but this deadly dance in the siege trenches may have suited Carl's mood. He was not easily upset by the sight of carnage, but was irate that the siege was taking so long and expressed his strong dissatisfaction to the French engineer officer Maigret, who led the siege work. Maigret is said to have expressed his hope that the fortress would fall to the Swedes within a week's time. "We will see," said the king with an unconvinced expression on his face. A little later he stepped up onto the inner ledge of the parallel trench to get a better view of the progress of the work on the new sap trench (G–G). He thus exposed his upper body to the enemy's fire, and his officers insistently begged him to step down, but this just had the opposite effect on the stubborn king. He remained standing.

Only God knows what thoughts passed through King Carl's head in this moment – but they could hardly have been cheerful. Frederikssten's dogged resistance may already have deprived him of his last remaining faith in his lucky star. If he could not even manage to conquer this by European standards third rank Norwegian border fortress with his brilliant battle-hardened army, he may perhaps have thought – it best to seek death. Better to return home on a black bier than to forever hear an echo of derisive laughter from the Norwegian mountains.

If *that* was in the king's mind, it may have been with a feeling of liberation that he about half past nine sank down behind the breastwork hit in the temple by a bullet from the fortress.

The glorious saga of Carolus XII had come to an end.

Seldom has a bullet had more historic significance than the one that penetrated King Carl's left temple. The shot reverberated across all of Europe. The magic ring was broken. The long suffering, exhausted Swedish people could now see what the enchantment had cost them. Between the beginning of The Great Northern War and Carl XII's death at Frederikssten, ca. 450,000 men had left Sweden – one third of Sweden's population at that time!

But the bitterness was not directed against the dead wizard – it was primarily directed at his servant, Baron Heinrich von Görtz.

Of course, all thoughts of conquering Norway were now abandoned. The guiding spirit was gone. The people only wanted peace, and a few days after the king's death the Swedish army returned to Sweden.

Carl XII's crimes against the Norwegian people – who had only wished to live their own lives far from the tumults of the European wars of conquest – set their

mark for a long time, but the warrior king's tragic death at Frederikssten has cast a softer glow over many things. Death atones for all, and if the Swedes can forgive him, surely we Norwegians also can forgive him.



The infectious diseases that raged in the Swedish camp during the siege made it impossible to get a reliable count of the number of officers and men who lost their lives in the trenches before Frederikssten, but we can get an idea when we hear that the royal guard, which totaled 2,300 men when it marched into Norway, only had 500 men fit for duty when they came home to Stockholm. The Östgöta and Södermannland regiments were completely decimated. Barely a couple of hundred men of these regiments returned.

Erasmus Offson Strömme

Br. Reitersten

P. E. Mørrén

Knutte.

What were the Norwegian losses in the siege? The military rolls that Colonel Landsberg sent to General von Lützow with his weekly reports show that the total was – 9 dead and 10 wounded. In addition, 22 men died of various diseases in the period from November 17th to December 18th.

The losses are incredibly small, but the reliability of the original reports in the Norwegian National Archives cannot be questioned.

With the passage of time, a thick veil of scientific spider web has been woven around Carl XII's career. The tragic death of the Swedish warrior king at Frederikssten has been especially subject to study. Many Swedish historians seem to be unable to accept that such an extraordinary person fell to a simple Norwegian bullet. They will – oddly enough rather – have it *that King Carl died by a Swedish murderer's hand*, and through the years one "proof" after the other has been concocted for this – according to common Norwegian ideas – very insulting allegation for Swedish national pride.

We have examined all of these "proofs" and based on this study we would advise the Swedish historians to let King Carl, "the young hero," rest in peace from scientific researches in his sarcophagus in Riddarsholm Church. The numerous "proofs" may perhaps fool the uncritical masses – but not a historian seeking the truth. The Swedish people must be permitted to be joyful that a Norwegian – and not a Swedish – bullet was the *Nemesis divina*.

The uncertainty about the exact spot where Carl XII fell has helped the Swedish historians concoct the "proofs." This uncertainty we have swept away for all time by the publication of Colonel Landsberg's map. Looking at this, it seems naturally obvious that the bullet from Frederikssten hit the king in the *left* temple while he was viewing the progress of the work and the impact of the bullets in the west end of the new trench, where the fire from the fortress was especially intense.¹

¹ [Carl XII's sarcophagus has been opened three times – the last time in 1917 – to examine the head wounds and settle the controversy – but it remains unsettled. The last two examinations concluded that the bullet entered on the *right* side of the skull. There is also a new claim that the actual "bullet" that killed him has been recovered and it has traces of DNA indicating Carl XII or a near relative.

There are also several conspiracy theories in addition to the assumption that the presumed assassin was just a Swedish soldier sick and tired of the king's endless wars. It should also be noted that the Swedish army got to Frederikssten by marching up through Båhuslen, and likely impressed any available men they met along the way, though many people here still considered themselves to be Norwegian and the Swedes their enemies.]



KING CARL XII'S CORPSE IS CARRIED BACK TO SWEDEN.

So, how did Armfeldt fare with his retreat over the Tydal mountains up in the north? Well, this horrible end to Carl XII's drama we might be tempted to omit. The numerous grave mounds along their line of march still bear witness to the Jemtland Army's fate.

On the 12th of January 1719, Armfeldt broke up from the farm Østby in Tydalen. The corps then probably numbered between four and five thousand men.

The distance to the border was not more than 30 kilometers, and under usual circumstances the Swedes could have reached Jemtland in good condition after a couple of days march. (See the map on page 247.)

But the troops had barely got up on the mountain when they were overtaken by a driving snowstorm. A violent cold also struck, and since many of these starving soldiers had only tattered rags for clothes, they soon sank down into the soft snow never to rise again.

The first night Armfeldt camped at Essandsjøen. Fires were built from heather and musket stocks, but it did not help much as the "Swedish mounds" bear witness to. Among the higher officers who rest here are *Friherre* Oxenstierna, Colonel von Gertten, and *Öfverkrigskommissarien* Severin Werling.

The next evening the remains of the army halted by the Rangla River. The horror scenes from Essandsjøen were repeated and in even greater measure, since now even the strongest began to weaken. When the march resumed, many men remained sitting by the fires. Some soldiers who had chosen to stand clinging tightly to each other to keep warm also did not stir.



THE JEMTLAND ARMY MEMORIALS ERECTED BY DUVED IN 1892 AND AT ÅNN
IN 1899

It is perhaps the first time they have refused to obey their commander's firm voice, but Armfeldt will probably forgive them. When the groups of disobedient soldiers were nudged to get their attention – they all fell down like frozen statues.

The blizzard raged on with no let-up. The godforsaken corps trudged slowly onward over the long Enbogensletta, where the snow hid the cairns marking the trail. Some groups lost their way and came down to the farms in Selbu and Meraker. Perhaps they thought their sufferings were over.

But years of war had blinded the farmers to compassion. They did not see unfortunate human beings begging for help – they only saw enemy soldiers who had brought so much hardship and misery to their country. Many of the lost were therefore killed on sight.

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TH. KITTELSEN DEL

ARMFELDT'S MARCH



OVER THE TYDAL MOUNTAINS.

P. T. MALLINGS BOGHANDELS FORLAG

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There was still a long way to go for what was left of the army. Three and four days full of suffering passed before the survivors began to arrive at Duved Skanse, from where 10,000 men had marched west five months earlier to conquer northern Norway.

May the horrible fate of the Jemtland Army forever stand as a warning to Norway's enemies! Then the Finns and Swedes that now sleep the eternal sleep up on the Tydal Mountains will not have suffered in vain.



Carl XII had strained the Swedish people to the utmost, and his fall at Frederikssten ended Sweden's last dreams of being a major power.

During the general confusion that followed, Friderich IV decided that the Norwegians should give up their defensive war strategy and go on the offensive. He would lead the Norwegian army himself in an invasion into Båhuslen in the hope of winning back this former Norwegian territory for the Union. First, Gothenburg was to be blockaded by a Union squadron as soon as the ice broke up. The king charged Tordenskiold with this task, and on the 7th of April 1719 he went to anchor in Rivöfjorden outside the fortress Nya Älvsborg with 4 ships of the line and 1 frigate.

Neither friends nor foes had the faintest notion of this mission, since the king had personally handed Tordenskiold his sealed orders that were not to be opened until the squadron was at sea. The secrecy also made it possible for him to surprise and capture a Swedish privateer and several commercial vessels that lay at anchor in Rivöfjorden.

The arrival of the famous naval hero caused great consternation in Gothenburg – his visit there two years earlier was still in fresh memory. Only four old warships lay in the harbor, and these were hastily sunk across the river near Gamla Älvsborg. Four galleys and some gunboats lay in the northern outfall of the Båhus River. The rest of the Swedish North Sea fleet was stationed in harbors

farther north, since King Carl had called most of the ships up to Strømstad so that they could support his attack on Norway.

After King Carl's death, some of the ships had sailed back to Marstrand for the winter. This force was commanded by Tordenskiold's old acquaintance from Dynekilen, *Schouthbynacht* Siöbladh, and consisted of 5 ships of the line, 1 frigate, 3 *skytsskibe*,¹ 2 galleys, and 1 *stykkpram*, which altogether carried 434 cannon.

Tordenskiold thus also had to keep an eye on Siöbladh's movements and this of course made the blockade of Gothenburg still more difficult.

After several insistent requests he finally got some reinforcements, and in mid-July his squadron was brought up to 7 ships of the line, 2 frigates, 2 *skytsskibe*, 2 *stykkpramme*, 2 floating batteries², 1 bomb ketch, 4 galleys, and 2 pilot vessels.

Meanwhile Friderich IV had arrived at Moss with significant reinforcements for the Norwegian army and on the 20th of July he invaded Båhuslen while Vice-Admiral Rosenpalm blockaded Strømstad with a Union squadron. Threatened from land and sea, the Swedes had to give up the town's fortifications and blow up the warships then present in the harbor.

King Friderich and his generals were cautious people. If they had possessed any semblance of Tordenskiold's enterprise and daring, Båhuslen would today belong to Norway, but after occupying Strømstad they were in doubt if they should dare to go farther, since just a little to the south there was Marstrand with the strong fortress Carlsten and in its harbor Siöbladh with his squadron.

However, it was not long before King Friderich was told that this obstacle had been removed.

Tordenskiold could easily block both entrances to Gothenburg with his large fleet, but of course he had no intention of contenting himself with such a passive role – especially now, when there was an opportunity to recover Båhuslen from the hands of the Swedes. He also soon understood that the king would not make any bold moves. If something was to be done, he would have to handle it himself.

Shortly after his arrival in Rivöfjorden, he had already begun to think about the Swedish squadron in Marstrand. With the help of spies and fishermen, he got exact information about the situation there, but he still wanted to see it for

¹ *Skytsskib* – "Artillery ship," a large *stykkpram* (see page 233) with two closed decks. Only a few of these were built. Note that all ships used in the Northern Wars were smaller and less sophisticated than the warships of the major powers in the Napoleonic Wars a century later.

² *flydebatteri* – a timber raft with cannon for attacking harbor fortresses.

himself. It was then that he came up with the audacious idea that no other *schoutbynacht* than Peter Tordenskiold would have thought of.

He sailed up to Marstrand, dressed up as a fisherman, and rowed ashore carrying a hank of fish which he peddled from house to house, but he asked too much for the fish, so no one would buy from him. He then rowed out to the warships, but could not find buyers there either. When it grew dark and Tordenskiold had seen all that he wanted to see, he sold the fish for a song and sailed jubilant back to his squadron.



TORDENSKIOLD SELLS FISH.

When everything was ready, Tordenskiold posted his ships of the line at both sides of the island Hisingen to guard the entrances to Gothenburg while he sailed with the rest of the squadron up to Marstrand. Here he first positioned his floating batteries, prams, and frigates so as to cut the town off from any connections with the mainland. This was done on the 19th and 20th of July.

Tordenskiold then formed up a landing force of 700 sailors and soldiers to take possession of Køen, since Tordenskiold – like Gyldenløve in 1677 – intended to install his batteries to bombard the town and the Swedish ships here.

In the afternoon of July 21 Tordenskiold himself led the landing in the van of his small force. The Swedes were soon driven off the island and work began on constructing an earthwork to protect the gun crews from the intense fire from the fortress.

During the night and the following day Tordenskiold installed a battery of four large mortars and 40 small howitzers that were hauled into the earthworks under violent grapeshot fire from a couple of Swedish ships, which were warped forward into the lead. Fortunately this work was done at night, so the enemy could not get good aim. Only an army captain was hit by a random ricochet, according to Tordenskiold's report.

On Sunday July 23^d everything was ready, and now the serious bombardment began from Køen, the floating batteries, and the other small ships.

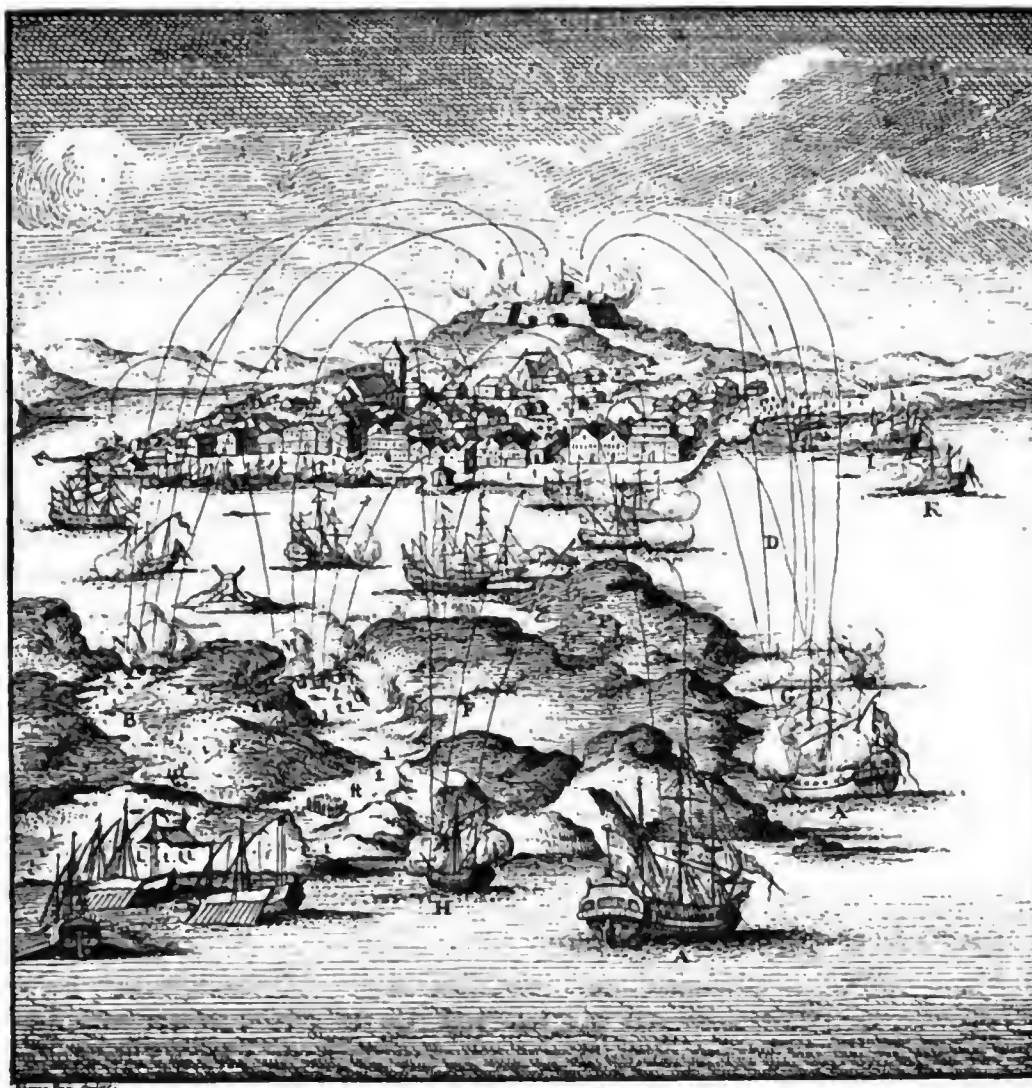
Tordenskiold soon realized that he could easily sink the Swedish squadron, but then he would not gain any benefits from the splendid ships that lay crowded together in the harbor.

He therefore directed his fire against the fortress and the enemy's batteries, but when this did not seem to have sufficient effect, Tordenskiold sent Lieutenant Commander Ployart as an envoy under a white flag to the commandant in Carlsten and to *Schoutbynacht* Siöbladh to politely ask if they would hand over 3 ships of the line and the 3 *skytsskibe*. If so, then Tordenskiold would stop the bombardment; if not, he would set both the town and the Swedish ships on fire with hot shots.

The daring naval hero knew that his proposal would of course be rejected, but while Ployart was away, he prepared to storm the town. The floating batteries "*Langemaren*" and "*Spydstagen*," *skytsskibene* "*Hielperinden*" and "*Friderichshald*," and the bomb ketch "*St. Johannes*" were brought up on line. 8 longboats were made ready, and Tordenskiold with 200 soldiers under the plucky army Captains Kaas and Kleve leapt into the boats and rowed straight in to the town.

This audacious attack succeeded better than even Tordenskiold had thought. As soon as the small force landed, the Swedes retreated to the fortress and left the town and the fort Gustafsborg in the hands of the Norwegians. Nor did the Swedish squadron offer much resistance. The booms blocking the entrance to the harbor were broken and, since the Swedes believed that they soon would see all of

Tordenskiold's ships steer into the opening, they tried to scuttle all their ships before the feared enemy could get to them – as many of their officers had seen happen in Dynekilen.



ATTAQVEN FOR MASTRAND.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| A. Skjoldskibene Friderichshald og Hielperinden. | G. Spjidsstagen. |
| B. Langedalen. | H. Galiothen St. Johannes. |
| C. Landgangen til Bjørn | I. Prammen Printz Sorgen. |
| D. Norder Gab. | K. Kron Printzen |
| E. Synder Gab. | L. Galej Printz Carl. |
| F. Ke Oen. | M. Batterie med 40 Haand Morterer. |
| | N. Battene af 2 Mørfere. |

Now it was just about saving what could be saved, and this task was carried out as in Dynekilen under heavy close-in fire from the enemy. But unfortunately the Swedish sailors had done their work so well that Tordenskiold only was able to save the ship of the line "*Warberg*," a frigate, and a couple of smaller ships.

However, he still had reasons to be happy. The Swedes had lost the town of Marstrand, 15 ships, and 5 batteries with a total of 479 cannon.

We must remember the date Sunday, 23^d of July, 1719.

The primary aim of the attack had been achieved.

Tordenskiold made himself at home in Marstrand and had his ships go to anchor behind the islands, where they were shielded from the fortress' cannon.

The easily won victory had wetted his appetite, so now the young conqueror began to wonder if he could perhaps attempt to capture Carlsten as well. This cliff-fortress was presumed impregnable since the walls had been significantly reinforced since Gyldenløve's War. Still

That Tordenskiold did not himself have much hope for the outcome is indicated by the letter he sent to the king after the conquest of Marstrand and the Swedish squadron. He ended it with a remark that "if he only had another 1,000 soldiers, he could take the castle within a 3 weeks siege."

Carlsten's location high on top of the island was too unapproachable for Tordenskiold to dare try to storm it with his small landing force. To breach its stone walls with bombardment would take a long time. Nor would starving out the garrison work, since Carlsten was well provisioned.

Tordenskiold therefore resorted to guile, and luck, which had so often stood by him, this time helped him in quite an unexpected way.

Besides ca. 100 naval officers and seamen, who had fled into the fortress after the squadron was sunk, Carlsten's garrison consisted of 300 men, but only 100 of them were native Swedes. The rest were captured Saxons, who had been impressed into Swedish service, and of course they did not have any great desire to participate in the defense.

Tordenskiold heard about this from Captain Kleve, who had sneaked up under the fortress walls and listened to the soldiers chatting, and he immediately decided to take advantage of this information. He set all his German men able to write to write letters in German about the overwhelming force he had with him and promised to handsomely award those who could persuade the commandant to surrender the fortress. These letters were then smuggled into the fortress and passed to the Saxons.



THE LETTER WRITING ROOM IN MARSTRAND.

Carlsten's commandant, Colonel Henrich Danckwardt, was in a difficult position, especially since he was very worried about his family, who also were present in the fortress.

However, this brave warrior, who had fought at Carl XII's side on so many battlefields, did not at first have any intention of surrendering his strong fortress, and Sunday afternoon and the following night sent a violent rain of shells down over the town to drive away the uninvited guests.

The burghers of Marstrand suffered more than the enemy, and the humane Tordenskiöld therefore at once allowed them to move over to Klåveröen with their families and possessions while he had the mortars on the ships and batteries throw bombs into the fortress. A well-directed shell from "*Langemaren*" blew up a powder keg on one of the bastions and a grain storage building went up in flames – but this was barely noticeable damage for the unyielding stone fortress.

On Monday Tordenskiold received an disquieting message that the Swedes had gathered a fleet of small vessels in the Båhus River [Kungsälv] and his spirited Flag Captain Ole Budde wrote that there was a great danger they might get past the guard ships in the night and sail up to relieve Carlsten.

But Tordenskiold had confidence in his friend and replied: "I trust to your vigilance, since God forbid that such a misfortune should occur as that which you apprehend; there would be the Devil to pay. Here I have no rest, neither night nor day, and I only wish that I had half a Budde here."

Meanwhile, Tordenskiold heard that a pretty widow who had an intimate relationship with Danckwardt lived in the town. He got hold of this woman, overwhelmed her with compliments, and assured her that it was only from humane considerations that he had not shot the fortress to pieces. It was only to spare the city and save human lives that he had still refrained from it, but when the 20,000 men who were on their way from Strømstad arrived, his patience would be at an end, and every Swedish man, woman, and child would pay with their lives for the commandant having dared to defy him.

As Tordenskiold expected, the terrified lady went at once to the fortress with this interesting information, and Tordenskiold also sent the colonel a letter in his own hand wherein he sought to impress the commandant with the overwhelming strength of the forces at his disposal – not to mention the 20,000 men coming from Strømstad. He even concluded the letter with offering to let Danckwardt "examine the preparations made for the attack which could not fail to succeed."

Surrounded by his family begging him to surrender and threatened by his Saxon soldiers, the brave, but gullible commandant began to discuss the possibility of surrender with his officers.

Scoutbynacht Siöbladh and his staff seem to have been indifferent to the fortress' fate now that their squadron was sunk, so *there* he did not find any support for his initial determination to defend this important stronghold that King Carl personally had entrusted to his care, to the last drop of blood.

Their deliberations thus ended with a decision to accept Tordenskiold's offer to let an officer examine the preparations for assaulting the fortress. If these were as fearsome as the Norwegian commander had asserted, there would be nothing for it, but to surrender to save the burghers of Marstrand – and his own family.

On Tuesday the 25th the commandant sent Navy Captain Utfall down to the town, and an entertaining episode that could well have been lifted from one of Holberg's comedies ensued. It seems that Captain Utfall was a convivial person,

and in Tordenskiold and his officers he found kindred spirits. A lavish table was enjoyed by all, and when the numerous toasts had made Utfall suitably befogged, they ventured forth to inspect Tordenskiold's formidable phalanxes. While the host entertained with tall tales from navy life, the entourage ranged up one street and down another. Everywhere the Swedish officer saw closed ranks of stout sailors and smartly uniformed soldiers. He did not notice that they were the same men, who with admirable fleetness carried out Tordenskiold's orders to run around the block and line up in the next street as soon as the captain had passed by. After completing the tour of the town and receiving some more refreshments, the Swedish captain was completely convinced of the enemy's crushing superiority, and late in the afternoon he returned to the fortress to inform the commandant of his findings.



TORDENSKIOLD THROWS A PARTY FOR CAPTAIN UTFALL.

Tordenskiold felt that such an enjoyable day should be concluded with fireworks, and he therefore resumed the cannonade with all the guns that could bear against the fortress. A lucky mortar round hit a powder magazine that blew up with an earsplitting boom – and the commandant's nerves broke. He called another council of war and everyone voted to surrender the fortress. A document of surrender was drawn up.

The next morning Captain Utfall returned to Tordenskiold and presented him with this important document. The Swedes demanded to be granted free departure with their marching band playing and full military honors. This they were welcome to – Tordenskiold was not picky about non-essentials. It surely was one of the proudest moments of his eventful life when he signed this document that gave him possession of the "unconquerable" Carlsten Fortress with large masses of war matériel, including 320,000 cannon balls and shells and 100 tons of gunpowder – without the loss of a single man.

The fortress was to be surrendered in the afternoon of the same day, but when the agreed upon hour passed without the commandant moving out with his troops, Tordenskiold with 100 armed seamen and soldiers went up to Carlsten, where he followed by Lieutenant Commander Ployart, Lieutenant Grodtschilling, and a couple of seamen marched right into the fortress and stopped before the commandant's residence. When Danckwardt stuck his head out of the window, Tordenskiold barked at him:

"What the devil are waiting for? Don't you know your time is up?"

This bold effrontery so impressed the haughty commandant that he immediately ordered his troops to march out – with the band playing a lusty air.

In the evening Tordenskiold invited Colonel Danckwardt, *Schouthbynacht* Siöbladh, and the highest ranking officers to a sumptuous fête aboard the artillery ship "*Friderichshald*." "Honor salutes" were given aplenty. Danckwardt got not less than 3 times 9 and 1 time 5 cannon blasts after he had stepped across the gangway. The victorious Tordenskiold evidently thought he could afford to be generous with a little of the 100 tons of gunpowder from the fortress.¹

Tordenskiold let Lieutenant Commander Ployart bring the proud news that Carlsten was conquered to King Friderich. Two days earlier he had sent Lieutenant Paulsen to Strømstad with the message that the Swedish squadron had

¹ The tale about Captain Utfall and "Tordenskiold's soldiers" is dubious, but the other details are confirmed by the record of Colonel Danckwardt's court martial. The Swedes executed him for having needlessly surrendered Carlsten without offering resistance.

been destroyed, and that he probably could take the fortress in a three week siege if he were given 1,000 additional troops. By an odd coincidence, both gentlemen arrived in Stømstad at the same time.



MEDALLION IN MEMORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MARSTRAND.

King Friderich was of course very happy to receive these unexpected reports, since the land army could now continue its march to Gothenburg without risk. It was decided to attack the city before the Swedes had recovered from the shock of Carlsten's fall. 6,000 men would be sent by sea from Strømstad with orders to occupy the island of Hisingen while the main army marched overland. As soon as Tordenskiold heard about this plan, it again awakened his unrelenting drive to achieve. If he had taken the unconquerable Carlsten, why not also Nya Älvsborg? The 6,000 men could then occupy Hisingen without meeting resistance, and Gothenburg would fall in a thrice.

Tordenskiold's thoughts rarely gathered any moss in his mind. Only 5 days after the capture of Carlsten, the whole squadron sailed southward and went to anchor in Rivöfjorden, a little below Nya Älvsborg. During the night, the ships were maneuvered into their prescribed places under a violent cannonade from the fortress. At daybreak Tordenskiold began firing back. Around noon a powder magazine blew up, and when a white flag was hung out at the fortress, Tordenskiold took this as a signal of surrender and ordered his ships to cease firing.

Strömstadt / den 28 Julij

ANNO 1719.



Ihro Königl. Majestät
zu Dännemarc Norwegen/ 2c. 2c.

Schoutbynacht von Tordenskiold hat den 23^{ten} dieses/ die in dem Haven vor Marstrand gelegene Schwedische Flottille attaquiret / und der Allerhöchste Ihr. Königl. Majest. Waffen abermahls dahin gesegnet / daß nicht allein sothane Schwedische Flottille, welche in 7 Orlogß-Schiffen/ 2 Fregatten/ 3 Galliothen/ 3 Branderß/ 1 Drahme/ und 1 Gallerie bestanden/ gänzlich ruiniret/ und davon ein Orlogß-Schiff von 44 Canonen/ 1 Galliothe 1 Fregatte von 18 Canonen, und 1 Drahme von 18 Canonen 24pfldiger erobert / die übrige aber alle / theils in Grund geschossen / und theils versencket worden; sonderneß hat auch darauff den 26 hujus sich die Festung Marstrand selbst / nach einem geschehenen kurzen Bombardement par Accord an Ih. Königl. Majst. ergeben / worauf sich auch eine groffe Quantitet von Ammunition befunden / und allerhöchsig. Ihr. Königl. Majst. zu Theil geworden. Der Allerhöchste gesegne fernerhin Ihr. Königl. Majst. gerechte Waffen!

LISTE

Der Schwedischen geretteten Schiffe/

Erstlich

Das Orlogß-Schiff Wartberg von 44 Canonen 12 und 6 Pfdigen.
Die Galleace Eder-Pring von Hesse/ worauf 12 36pfldigen 12 24pfldigen Canonen
samt 44 24pfldigen Gallionetten.
Eine Fregatte/ Wilhelmine Galler genandt mit achtzehn 44pfldigen.
Ein Drahme Stofast von achtzehn 24pfldigen Canonen.
Ein Kauffardeg-Schiff der weisse Löwe genandt.

LISTE

Der versenkten Schiffe:

Halmstadt)	} alle mit 44 bis 50 Canonen besetzt.
Calmer	
Sierstin	
Friderica	
Charlotta	
nebst	
2 Galleacen	
und 1 Gallerie.	



BROADSIDE REPORTING TORDENSKIOLD'S CONQUEST OF MARSTRAND.

An officer was sent over to Nya Älvsborg to negotiate the conditions of surrender, but this time the famous naval hero had gotten ahead of himself. In its commandant, Colonel Johan Lillie, he had found a more worthy opponent than Henrich Danckwardt. Lillie replied that he would defend himself as long as he had balls and powder. The white flag had only been a signal to the governor in Gothenburg to send him reinforcements.

The battle began again with great intensity on both sides. In the night, several ships had to leave their places in order to repair the damage caused by the well-directed fire from the fortress. Only the floating batteries and the mortar ketch "*St. Johannes*" held their positions. Tordenskiold himself moved from ship to ship to encourage the crews to renewed efforts.

However, he soon realized that this time it would not go as anticipated, and *Captain* Ployart was very welcome when he arrived the following morning with the message that the king and crown prince had left Strømstad to personally congratulate Tordenskiold for the conquest of Carlsten.

He thus had to return to Marstrand, and the command of the squadron was turned over to Commander Frederik Hoppe. This competent officer continued the bombardment throughout the day, but since Nya Älvsborg had received the requested reinforcements from Gothenburg during the night, and the Swedes succeeded in positioning a couple of strong batteries on Hisingen, Hoppe signaled the Danish-Norwegian ships to withdraw outside the range of the enemy's cannon. The attack had cost the squadron 60 dead and 73 wounded.



MEDALLION STRUCK TO MEMORIALIZE KING FRIDERCH IV AND CROWN PRINCE CHRISTIAN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1719.

The king did not arrive in Marstrand until August 17th due to headwinds – so Tordenskiold could just as well have continued with the siege of Nya Älvsborg. The monarch heard his favorite's tale about the attack without uttering any criticism. He was quite over the moon about the conquest of Carlsten and the destruction of the Swedish squadron. The courtiers said they had never seen the Union king so happy. Friderich IV took his portrait set in diamonds from Admiral Gabell's breast and fastened it to Tordenskiold's uniform coat and promoted the 29 year old hero to vice-admiral.

*

In the two years that Wyllem de Coucheron had been commandant in Marstrand during "Gyldenløve's War," the fortress was called Christianssten. Now Carlsten was re-named again and given a garrison consisting of 8 infantry companies from the Norway Regiment and a company of the Norwegian Artillery Corps with Major General Hartvig Huitfeldt as commandant.

However, the re-naming could just as well have been dispensed with, as the peace negotiations, which had begun already when Carl XII fell, now began to move so fast that the Norwegian army's progress in Båhuslen regrettably was halted.

It also looked like hostilities at sea would be cut short. Tordenskiold stayed in Marstrand, where he and Admiral Ole Judichær were busy raising the scuttled Swedish ships. On the king's orders, the siege of Gothenburg was lifted on the 25th of September, and several of the ships were sent home. The floating batteries "*Lange-maren*" and "*Spydstagen*," which had done such excellent service in the various attacks in the fjords, were disarmed and laid to anchor in the Göta River estuary together with the bomb ketch "*St. Johannes*," the galley "*Printz Carl*," the powder supply ship "*Langesund*," and a couple of other transport ships while they waited for a favorable wind to sail to Copenhagen.



HARTVIG HUITFELDT

But the Swedes would prove that they also could play a trick on the feared naval hero. In the night between the 11th and 12th of September they sneaked out of the Göta River with some small galleys and longboats, surprised the crews on the defenseless ships, and towed them all up to Gamla Älvsborg, where they lay protected by the fortress' guns and the scuttled warships in the lead.

Tordenskiöld begrudged his enemies even this small triumph. He got very angry and wrote to the Admiralty: "I will avenge that even if I should die in the attempt. *En fin!* They shall pay for this!"

And this promise he kept in a very brilliant manner.

In the afternoon of October 7th, Tordenskiöld sailed from Marstrand with 2 galleys and 10 longboats. The little flotilla arrived in Rivöfjorden late in the evening without being noticed.

Ole Budde, who led the longboats, started to sneak by Nya Älvsborg, but when he discovered 5 small Swedish ships, he waited until Tordenskiöld came up with the galleys. The brave flag officer was ordered to just keep going. He successfully passed by the fortress and the ships and around midnight landed close under the batteries of Gamla Älvsborg.

In the harbor lay not only the captured vessels, but also the Swedish 36 gun frigate "*Grefve Mörner*" and a couple of galleys.

Budde went ashore with his sailors and soldiers. The latter had been ordered to turn their uniform coats, which were lined with light blue cloth, inside out so that they could pass for Swedes, if that should be necessary.

While Budde and his men went around on the fortress bastions and spiked the cannon, Captain Kleve sneaked up to the guardhouse with 30 light blue soldiers. The soldiers stuck their muskets in through the windows while Kleve went inside and said hello to the half-asleep guard squad. The lieutenant tried to put up a fight, but immediately got a pistol bullet through his head, and then the others surrendered without further resistance.

Then they returned to the boats. All the ships in the harbor were quickly boarded. With lusty chanteys, tumult and shouting, the anchors came up and then they had to warp the vessels out through the narrow lead between the scuttled warships.

It was hard and difficult work. All the noise had brought three companies of Gothenburg's garrison to the scene, but the fortress' cannon were spiked, and since the Swedes – judging by the extent of the racket – assumed the enemy's strength to be quite overwhelming, they kept at a respectful distance.

When the commandant on Nya Älvsborg noticed the commotion in the inner harbor, he sent a boat to investigate. About halfway between Nya and Gamla Älvsborg they met another boat coming out. The Swedes hailed it and got an astounding reply: *Tordenskiold!*

And as the startled quartermaster hastily turned his boat around, he was given a clear message: "My respects to the commandant and tell him to keep his eyes open the next time I come to visit!"

In a few minutes the dispatch boat returned with the message for Colonel Lillie, and the alarm was sounded at Nya Älvsborg – but a little too late. A lot of the population on both sides of the Göta River had come down to the riverbanks to watch the excitement and now they were treated to a fireworks show that they would remember as long as they lived. It proved impossible to tow the captured ships out of the harbor and Tordenskiold therefore decided to set them on fire. Unexpectedly, some of them still had their ammunition aboard, and as the fires reached the powder magazines, they blew up with spectacular results. Only the galley "*Printz Carl*" was towed out of the harbor in one piece, and with this prize Tordenskiold and his brave fellows rowed down the Göta River illuminated by the burning vessels.

The Norwegian vice-admiral could not have sent the Swedish people a more sublime farewell.

This daring exploit literally put a shining end to his military career. It was also the last action carried out in the Great Northern War, which tumbled Sweden down from its position as a major power and gave Denmark and Norway a long period of peace with their aggressive neighbors.

*

"Those whom the gods love, die young," says a Greek proverb. That also was Tordenskiold's fate. They gathered him into their arms when his life's work was at an end. They surely guided the Swedish Colonel Jakob Staël von Holstein's hand, when he cut the hero's life-thread with his sword on the 12th of November 1720.

The great sorrow expressed by the sister nations over his early demise was the best eulogy over his grave. No Norwegian hero since Olaf Tryggvasson has won the admiration of his contemporaries and posterity in so high degree as the hero from Dynekilen, Marstrand, and Älvsborg.

*"Ven med Fiende bandt hans Krans
Trende Riger saa his Glans
Navn som trodser Mulm og Grav
Rul som Torden over hav!"*





TORDENSKIOLD'S MONUMENT IN CHRISTIANIA

UNVEILED 17 MAY 1901 BY THE CROWN PRINCE OF NORWAY.

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Chapter Fourteen

NORWAY'S ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

The Great Northern War set back the Scandinavian nations at least half a century in population growth and economic development, but the peace treaty at Frederiksborg finally settled accounts between the countries, and under the long period of peace that followed, the Norwegian people had time to gather new strengths and improve the basic prerequisites for continued national development – in spite of the autocratic misrule by the Oldenburg kings.

This despotic form of government that Denmark and Norway got in 1660 and Sweden in 1680 had its historical justification – the autocracy saved the states from disintegrating – but this arbitrary system of government should also have ended when the monarchy's power was recovered, since a government that excludes its people from all participation in governing must in the long run reduce it to a state of apathy and ignorance.

In Sweden a representative constitution was successfully introduced after Carl XII's death. The warrior king had misused his autocratic powers to the utmost, and the Swedish people were sensible enough to set elimination of autocratic rule as a condition for his sister Ulrica Eleonora to ascend to the throne.



The Oldenburg autocratic rulers for several reasons did not get opportunity to mistreat their subjects as outrageously as the Swedish royal hero did, and so they met little or no resistance. The Norwegians patiently put up with the autocratic monarchy's rather mild misrule right up to 1814 – and the Danes until 1849.

By the Royal Law,¹ the Oldenburg kings had acquired greater powers over their subjects than any other European royal house, but there is hardly any other royal dynasty that has shown itself less fit to play a leading role in government than this uninterrupted row of Christians and Friderichs. It is not exactly complimentary of us that these under-achievers have held the same position in our land as Harald, Olaf, Sverre, and Haakon.

Let us pass them quickly in review. After Friderich IV came the half-witted pietist Christian VI, whose body and soul were equally poorly equipped, a gnome who worked untiringly to enslave and dumb down his subjects. His son – the much too convivial gentleman Friderich V – engaged as little as possible in government affairs and in 1760 surrendered the scepter to Christian VII. The body and spirit of his prince were already ruined by the most shameless debaucheries before he ascended the throne and in the 18 years that Christian was king he showed himself to be completely deranged.

¹ *Kongeloven (Lex Regia)* dated 14 November 1665, set the legal basis for the Danish-Norwegian absolute monarchy. It established the rules of royal succession and formalized the king's autocratic powers (*jura majestatis*). It is the only written constitution for an absolute monarchy.

His son Frederik VI for a change was a reasonably honest and right-thinking person. He also possessed sufficient intelligence that he could meddle in the smallest details of the state administration – in complete accordance with his royal words: "We alone know what serves to the gain and benefit of our realms." Well – the results of his omniscience and sagacity we know – the Norwegian crown he lost and Denmark he led to the edge of extinction.

And these were the princes who according to the Royal Law were to act as guardians for two nations! It was hardly a misfortune that the Oldenburg kings had so little talent for playing the role they assumed, since most of the governmental powers thus naturally fell into the hands of the departments of state. Thus the Danish–Norwegian absolute monarchy became almost a bureaucracy.

Through the heads of the departments – the ministers – the kings could wield a more or less unfortunate influence over the administration, but since the ministers had to take some notice of public opinion, they usually sought to thwart or allay the effect of harmful royal commands.

The absolute rulers could of course select the most willing toadies to be their ministers, but since it was not in their interest to set absolutely unworthy men to run the several governmental departments, the administration of the absolute monarchy usually was characterized by a steady, honorable mediocrity.

Even though the Oldenburg absolute kings lacked most of the characteristics of successful rulers, they still were the source of power – the sun from which all light and warmth radiated. The absolute monarchy therefore came to encourage a fawning servility that even many Eastern despots have hardly seen the equal of.

This poison, which filtered down to the lowest levels of society, was so much more degrading and disgusting the paltrier the object for the veneration and supplication was.

These shadow kings were hailed as half-gods and compared to the great rulers of history both before and after their deaths. For example, it was said of Friderich V – also called "the venerable" – that he carried the scepter with the wisdom of Solomon!

The most fulsome expression for this sycophancy may have been given by the rector of the University of Copenhagen Hans Gram in a speech for one of Christian VI's birthdays. The learned historian stooped to speak of this caricature of a king as a



HANS GRAM

prince, "whom the God of gods, the one God – God, who himself is a king and the father of kings – fills with wisdom, honors with His friendship, strengthens with His teachings, nourishes with His discourse, fills with god-like power, allows to share in the might of His works – in short – adorns with His image. Do you ask about his throne? It is closely united with the divine. About his scepter? It is given him from the hand of God. About his plans? They come from the thoughts of God. About his fortune? It is strengthened by God's favor."

Gram continued his speech at length in the same vein, but paper is expensive. and I will not quote it further.

This nauseating flattery was still trumped by the academic faculty in its printed invitation to the University's commemorative service for the same king. The learned gentlemen first stated their deep sorrow that even the absolute kings must die – even though they are and rightfully could be called gods. But since Death has not been willing to spare even Christian VI, the faculty must at least be allowed to call him a saint. This the professors do with the following expression: "Allow, Oh, most holy Father Christian! that we now after your glorious apotheosis expect this consolation from you, that because of your piety our prayers now may find more favor with God, with whom you have always been able to do much and now are able to do more than ever."

In the collection of elegies that were published on this occasion there is one in which the Norwegian mountains are requested to melt away or at least crack open in sorrow over the death of Father Christian. However, the demoralizing court sycophancy fortunately diminished approximately in proportion with the distance from Copenhagen. The Norwegian soil was not well suited for crawling upon, and the Norwegians' loss by the little royal homunculus' demise apparently was not that great, since the Norwegian mountains did not comply with the request.



In a way it was a great blessing that the Union king had his permanent residence in Denmark. The moral degradation that spread outward from the court thus had little opportunity to gain damaging influence in Norway, but on the other hand it was also very injurious for our country, since it caused Norway not only to be seen as the secondary country in the eyes of the world, but it was also in many respects treated as such.

Centralization was the leading principle of the absolute monarchy. Everything was to be gathered in under the autocratic throne. It was the duty of all citizens to pay homage to it and exalt its luster. As long as the Norwegian subjects of the Union king provided the necessary money, seamen, and recruits for the royal military forces, everything was fine.

No power was to be shared. Therefore the royal house opposed all Norwegian demands that did not comport with the centralization principle. One king – one university – and one people – that was the ticket. The aim was to bring the Norwegian people – as well as the Danes – to forget that they were separate individual nations. They should all just become the absolute ruler's loyal subjects and all would be in order.

This system of government naturally was the most advantageous for the Oldenburg royal house, since it did not belong to either nation. All the kings from Friderich III to Frederik VI considered themselves as full-blooded Germans. They spoke German, surrounded themselves with Germans, and usually chose Germans as their advisers. Immigrant German fortune seekers became the ruling class in Denmark and for a long time it was even considered somewhat shameful to be Danish.

It is this lack of national self-respect that Holberg derides so aptly, when he in *Jean de France* has Espen state: "I was not born in this country; it is only my enemies who say such things. I was born 10 *mile*¹ south of Randers, where we are considered members of the Holy Roman Empire, so I am Roman rather than Danish."

The introduction of the absolute monarchy must therefore be considered as a German conquest of the Danish-Norwegian monarchy and as conquerors the absolute kings and their minions exploited the economic resources of both kingdoms.

Holberg once wrote: "Denmark may be compared to an elevated lake whose waters fall into a great sea and never returns, while Norway is like river flowing into the same sea and thus prevents it from being dried out as quickly."

The great sea was *Germany*. A large part of the double monarchy's income flowed there through a thousand channels. The German queen's impoverished relatives especially profited by the high taxes that the Norwegians and Danes had to pay. Conditions were worst under Christian VI. His almost insanely arrogant

¹ Holberg probably used the 17th century Danish *mile* \approx 7.5 km. so Espen was still born about in the middle of Jutland and a long ways from Germany.



queen – a petty princess of Kulmbach-Bayreuth – did not only take care of her mother and twelve poor siblings, but she also felt called upon to arrange support for her cousins and cousins of cousins, and when these vultures had filled their pockets, they immediately returned to *das grosse Vaterland* and emptied them there.

The state funds that exited the country in this manner certainly were well spent money! Especially when we remember that this queen – Sophie Magdalene was her name – her whole life was such an arch-German that she derisively called her son, the later Friderich V, "der dänische Printz" because he from time to time deigned to speak the language of his Danish subjects.

And under such misrule the Norwegian people was expected to progress and strengthen the conditions for further national development. It must be admitted that the times were not very favorable. That their efforts still succeeded beyond all expectations must be due to *the strong growth of national identity engendered during the wars with Sweden*.

The army had become a strong link between Norway's widely separated communities. The Norwegians had gained confidence in their own capabilities. The enemy's attacks had not only been firmly repulsed, but the Norwegian army had usually – as, for example, during Gyldenløve's War – fought on Swedish soil, and its victories were shared in the memories of the whole nation.

The wars had made the old, sluggish blood to flow faster through the veins of the Norwegian freehold farmers, and when the peace came, the newly awakened energy began to express itself in several areas – especially the economic.

When the absolute monarchy was introduced in 1660, Norway was again given equality with Denmark – on paper. But of course the Norwegians had difficulties asserting this principle of equality in real life as long as they lagged behind their Danish sister nation in economic development, since economic and political independence always are intimately related to each other.

For the development of a demand for national autonomy, it therefore was of great importance that Norway's economic conditions should be improved, and this prerequisite for the nation's political independence was provided in the long period of peace in the 18th century. The advances in the field of agriculture were particularly important. In 1660 there were approximately 12,000 self-owning *odel*

farmers and 25,000 leaseholders, but by 1760 there already were twice as many *odel* farms as leaseholder places.

A primary reason for the strong rise in the self-owner class was the sale of the old crown estates. This way of alleviating the State's financial woes began already under King Christian IV. The sales continued on a larger scale under the absolute kings, and when the Great Northern War ended, the State had only some insignificant remnants left of the rich booty from the Reformation.



NIELS LEMBACH

JENS HOLMBOE

When this source of income dried out, Friderich IV – empowered by his right to stand above all human laws – proceeded to auction off the Norwegian churches and their attached estates – which belonged to the congregations – an attack on the right of property that apparently is unique in the history of civilized state governments.

However, amassing landed estates was not a particularly profitable business in Norway, since the manorial estates were not granted the same privileges as in Denmark. The absolute rulers of course had no interest in fostering an aristocratic class in the distant Norway. As long as the Norwegian people remained a farming people, where no one ranked higher than another – the absolute monarchs were safe from a national uprising. Christian V's Norwegian Law therefore placed disproportionate burdens on all land that was not cultivated by the owner himself.

The law especially sought to guard the rights of the leaseholders. In order to prevent the great landowners from screwing up the *landskyld* (rents and fees) to unreasonable heights, it was decreed that the *skyld* should be paid "as it has been from olden times." Thus it could not be raised, and as the land rose in nominal value over time, the *landskyld* of course became unreasonably small.

It was therefore more advantageous to sell the land to the leaseholders – and this was also done to the greatest extent possible.

The ensuing progress of Norwegian agriculture is proof of the old adage that an owner makes better use of the land than a renter. Norway had 450,000 inhabitants in 1660. A century later the population had increased to 710,000, but the country was still better able to feed itself in 1760.

It was not only farmers like Niels Justesen from Hitteren¹ who became pioneers in clearing and improving new farm lands. Many state officials also deserve praise for their efforts to improve agricultural practices in the country. The chief magistrate in Nedre Romerike, Niels Lembach, and the *fogd* in Senjen, Jens Holmboe, merit special mention.

Some credit must also be applied to the large debit side of the Union government, since it in many ways sought to support the cultivation of new lands in Norway. Thus, in 1752 all farmers were granted exemption from taxes on all land they cleared within the boundaries of their farms.

The growth of Norwegian agriculture was stronger in the last half of the eighteenth century than any time before or since. This was in large part due to the introduction of improved tools and better methods of cultivation. The wealthy merchant John Collett on Ullevold set his fellow citizens a good example in this regard.

A virtual competition arose to benefit one's homeland in this manner, and there soon came times when the Norwegian people got reason to bless all these eminent men who pioneered the development of modern agriculture in Norway.



MEDAL FOR FURTHERING
AGRICULTURE IN NORWAY.

¹ A leasehold farmer at the parsonage on the island Hitteren [Hitra] in Trøndelagen, who was extensively written about in song and prose as an example to follow.

And how did it go with the development of Danish agriculture following the introduction of the absolute monarchy?

The question may be answered by reference to the farmers' position in Denmark. *It was worse than in any other civilized country.*

In Norway, the government for political reasons did all it could to protect the rights of the leaseholders. In Denmark it went to the opposite extreme. The number of self-owning farmers had gone steadily down since the time of the Reformation and continued to do so after 1660. If the leaseholders had been oppressed under the former Danish nobility, they were even more so under the German fortune seekers' regime. When Christian V created a new court nobility by letters patent in 1671, the newly baked counts and barons got even more extensive rights over their farmers than the old nobility had ever had.

Friderich IV made a well-intentioned attempt to better the peasants' deplorable conditions by abolishing the villeinage, by which the peasants were obliged to stay on the estate where they were born and farm the land the landlords provided for them – even if the land had lain fallow for years.

However, what Friderich IV gave, his successor, Christian VI, took away with rents and fees.

In 1733 another attempt was made to create a Danish national army. The power of conscription was placed in the hands of the estate owners, and so that the farm boys would not run away, it was again decreed that *no one could leave the estate where he was born without permission.*

Villeinage had only been the law on the main Danish islands. The new military adscription decree was applicable to the whole country, and since further decrees continued in the same vein, the peasantry sank deeper and deeper.

It has been said that Denmark's 900 manorial estates were just so many plantations with white negroes. This was not an exaggeration. The West Indian planters certainly treated their slaves less brutally than the Danish estate owners of the mid-eighteenth century. Under such conditions it is no wonder that Danish agriculture declined rather than improved.

The government removed the peasants slave chains in 1788, but by then the lash, the wooden horse, neck iron, and other instruments of torture had marked the Danish peasants so deeply that it still took a long time for agricultural development in Denmark to gain momentum.

Norwegian agricultural economy had thus improved to an extraordinary extent since 1660, while Denmark's grain exports had hardly increased at all.



NORWEGIAN RIGSDALER COIN FROM CHRISTIAN VII'S TIME.

The Danish merchant marine fleet was significantly larger than the Norwegian when the Great Northern War ended, but this relationship soon changed. By the middle of the eighteenth century the numbers of ships were about equal, and when the American Revolutionary War broke out, the Danes were left far behind. Norwegian shipping now took an even stronger upturn that lasted right up to 1807. Norway then had more than 1,500 merchant ships or about twice as many as Denmark.

In the world of commerce it was also soon noticed that the Norwegian peoples' old energy and enterprise had begun to return.

Due to the absolute monarchy's policy of centralization, Norwegian merchants of course could not expect any support or encouragement from the government, nor did they get any. Quite to the contrary, everything possible was done to promote Danish commerce at the Norwegians' expense, since everything was to be agglomerated at the seat of the central government. Thus in 1726 the merchants of Copenhagen were given sole rights to trade in wine, salt, tobacco, and distilled spirits. Hereafter all other tradesmen in the market towns of the united kingdoms were to act as agents for the wholesalers in Copenhagen!

This extraordinary monopoly of course caused much bitterness, especially among the merchants in Christiania, and Christian VI very sensibly gave the same privilege to them in 1733.

However, a couple of years later he created the infamous *grain monopoly*, which has been called the most indefensible misuse of the powers of the absolute monarchy. The Danish estate owners were given sole rights to supply grain to southern Norway. This monopoly threatened thousands of Norwegian subjects

with starvation whenever the harvest in Denmark failed as it happened in 1741 and 1742. There were thirty thousand more deaths than births in those years – and that only so that the abominable Danish land barons could dispose of their inferior crops.

This disastrous monopoly lasted right up to 1788 and was of course intended to favor Danish agriculture – but had the exact opposite effect because the landowners naturally did not bother to improve their seeds since the Norwegians were forced to buy their poor grain anyway.

Christian VI's paternal concern for Iceland – the saga-rich island of the old Norwegian great families – should also be mentioned. Here the merchant houses of Copenhagen held a monopoly on *all* imports, and the result was that 8,000 people – about a third of the population – died from starvation. If the government had not stepped in, the whole population might have been wiped out.

Nor was the Union government very successful in furthering Denmark's international trade and industry. It wanted Denmark to have factories and trade with other parts of the world just like Holland, England, and France. Any project promoted with this aim, practically achievable or not, could count on generous support from the state treasuries. The public officials in both kingdoms were sometimes even forced to invest a certain percentage of their meager salaries for the most farfetched enterprises.

In this way some of these commercial or industrial hothouse plants achieved an artificial blossoming – but soon shriveled away to an early death. But that was the least of the damage. It was worse that the Danish merchant burghers became accustomed to rely on the government instead of themselves. Fortunately, the Norwegian merchants had to look out for themselves, but the Father of both countries still managed to put a damper on his Norwegian children's enterprise and foreign trade traditions by other means.

The absolute kings' opposition to the establishment of a Norwegian *bank* was the impediment most felt. One king – one bank, and that one should of course be located in the *king's Copenhagen*. When we consider the means of communication at the time, it is easy to understand how detrimental this arrangement was for Norwegian commerce. Not to mention the large amounts of money that was thus drained out of the country.

But despite it all, the Norwegian trade with foreign lands rose much faster than the Danish. In 1750 the exports from each country was about equal, and

before the century expired Denmark was as far behind in the volume of trade as in the number of ships.

Among the major business men in Norway in the 18th century, Thomas Angell in Trondhjem, Bernt Anker and James Collett in Chistiania, Danchert Krohn in Bergen, and Gabriel Kielland in Stavanger, may be mentioned.



THOMAS ANGELL



JAMES COLLETT

The urban population in Bergen also testified to Norway's economic progress. At the imposition of the absolute monarchy in 1660, Denmark had, within its present boundaries, ca. 750,000 inhabitants and Norway 450,000. The Danish main commercial center, Copenhagen, then had ca. 100,000 inhabitants, the Norwegian ca. 30,000, but in 1801 the Norwegian population had grown to 883,000, the Danish only to 926,000, and the cities to 109,000 and 190,000, respectively.

Norway thus once again had acquired the economic base for development of national independence.



MEDALLION COMMEMORATING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NORWEGIAN
MILITARY ACADEMY IN 1750.

Had the intellectual and cultural prerequisites also matured? Would Norway be capable of developing a new cadre of leaders who could gather the country's diverse factions around the national banner?

A nation without leaders is as helpless as an army without generals.

A nation must have leaders who in talents and education stand a head above the masses if it is to fulfill its place in history, since there will always be a minority that leads the nation's political and cultural development – the ability to lead is not given to all. Let us never forget that.

The Norwegian people lacked this minority at the time of the Reformation, and this lack of leaders was still felt – although to a lesser degree – when the absolute monarchy was introduced. This is shown by the timidity exhibited by the Norwegians when the government straight-out refused to meet the national demands presented for Norway's own university and its own department of commerce, and it took a long time before the royal power again was confronted with new patriotic demands from the Norwegians.

However, this can partly be ascribed to the new constitution, which put the kingdoms on an even footing again and eliminated the major reason for discontent, and besides, Gyldenløve's War and the Great Northern War demanded the Norwegian people's full attention over all other concerns.

The abolition of the old fiefdoms brought a significant change; the largely autonomous barons and their liegemen were replaced by royally appointed public officials who were subject to a more or less exact control by the central government.

This change must be said to have been a loss for the Danes, since the Danish Council of State had at one time in a fight over the Act of Union of 1450 appropriated the power to assign the Norwegian fiefs more or less as it pleased. On the other hand, the abolition of the feudal system was a great win for the Norwegians. After 1660, a Norwegian official class that exclusively represented the nationally neutral absolute monarch slowly developed.

In the beginning it was of course more difficult to find competent men, since in the 17th century the University of Copenhagen was considered as only a mediocre theological college, and nepotism, which bloomed up so prodigiously under the absolute monarchy, did not help to raise the level of the official class.

However, as the absolute monarchy's taste for bureaucratic government grew with time, it was in its own interest to provide as well educated and competent representatives as possible, and tightening up the testing for theological knowledge and the introduction of an examination for juridical office in 1736 led to much improvement in this respect.

At the same time the government placed the judges of the lower Norwegian courts under close supervision by *Overhofretten*,¹ which was established already in 1667 in Christiania.

On the whole it must be said to the absolute monarchy's credit that it took good care of the judicial system. In the eighteenth century Norway hardly took a back seat to any other European country in that regard. The *Pater Patriae* role that the absolute kings liked to play for the common people, especially worked to the benefit of the Norwegian farmers. In the time of the enfeoffed barons they had acquired a well-grounded mistrust of the authorities, and this mistrust did not readily wear off.

However, the devotion to and unrestrained faith in the royal house was an old inheritance from the age of Haakon Haakonsson. It was especially strong expression under the absolute monarchy. The kings from Friderich III forward felt an almost pathological mistrust of their own officials, and here they met on common ground with the Norwegian farmers. It did not take much for the farmers to send a deputation or a written complaint to their "Father, himself" in Copenhagen.

¹ *Overhofretten* replaced the earlier *Herredagen* and was the highest court in Norway from 1667 to 1797. Its decisions could be appealed to the High Court in Copenhagen, but only for cases of high national importance.

This familiar relationship between the Norwegian farmers and the sovereign was a serious restraint on the officials in Norway. They had to take notice of the sentiment in the communities they served in quite other ways than their Danish colleagues.

At the same time the officials in Norway enjoyed a significantly more independent and respected position than in Denmark, where a majority of the landowners were privileged to appoint the civil officials required on their estates.

In Norway, they were servants of the king, and since the distance from the seat of government was longer, they had more occasion to think and act on their own initiative and responsibility. This was especially true for the higher military officials, and it all contributed to create an official class that the common people could esteem and respect. *Thus Norway was enriched with a social class that was so enlightened that it could correspond with the progressive European intellectual life and act as the nation's leaders – whenever the conditions might become favorable for such a development.*

Together with a military and civil aristocracy of officials, a prosperous and relatively enlightened burgher class also emerged, since, as international trade and shipping expanded, it called forth a steadily growing merchant class with constantly increasing capabilities required to successfully compete in the world markets.

In the 18th century it became common for wealthy merchants to send their sons abroad to advance their education. English business schools were favored, since the majority of Norway's foreign trade was with England and because the Norwegians felt most in sympathy with the English nation. Both nations shared common characteristics: personal self esteem and pride and the same practical sense and contempt for all pompous affectation. This sympathy for the English in time grew into such an Anglomania that the poet Wessel found it necessary to warn his countrymen against believing:

<i>at der fødes mennesker</i>	that humans are born
<i>kun i Engelland og dér (i Norge).</i>	only in England and there (in Norway).

However, this affection for England had no damaging consequences with respect to our nationalism, quite to the contrary. The distance between the two countries was too great for the English influence to have as overwhelming and oppressing effects as the German influence in Denmark.

To be a nationalist is not the same as being to oneself enough. A true, vibrant sense of nationalism is receptive to all influences that can strengthen the nation's life force – even if these influences come from abroad. A comparable influence to that Italy had on Europe's artistic development by the *Renaissance*; Germany on religion by the *Reformation* – England came to exert a comparable influence in the social-political arena.

The thoughts and ideas disseminated by the English philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries cannot be valued high enough. Transplanted to French soil by Voltaire and Rousseau *they produced a new movement that created a new Europe where the individual nations as well as the individual person could come into its own.*



VOLTAIRE.

In the 16th century the Norwegian people had not been able to participate in the wide-ranging cultural development following the Reformation as much as the Danes who possessed the necessary prerequisite – a well-educated aristocracy. Danish influences therefore became even stronger than in the early times of the Union. The weak airs of European culture that spread across the Norwegian towns and rural communities had to first pass through Denmark.



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This situation had changed in the 18th century. The Norwegian people again possessed a well-educated minority, and through the vibrant connections with England the new cultural trends early spread widely among the better off merchant and official families. Knowledge of the English language and the thought provoking English literature soon became as widespread in Norway as the German language and the marrowless German literature in Denmark.

Now the Norwegians not only were able to participate with their Danish tribal relatives in their common intellectual life, but they also could through a man of Norwegian heritage – Ludvig Holberg – send the new West-European culture stream down over the Danish fields with such force that the Germans forever had to give up hope of stifling Danish nationalism.

Norwegian influence began making itself felt in Danish intellectual life to such an extent that the earlier Danish impact in Norway was repaid in full.

Even up to today no other Scandinavian author has had an influence as deep and far-reaching on all social classes as the great man from Bergen. He not only founded a new literature, but also had a reforming effect on religion that cannot be valued high enough.



MEDALLION STRUCK IN MEMORIAM OF LUDVIG HOLBERG.

The Protestant Reformation had already played out its role as the bearer of the spiritual culture when Holberg began writing in 1711.

When Protestantism still had to fight for its existence, its leaders had followed Luther's high example and acted as passionate defenders of personal conviction in contrast to the spiritual tyranny of Catholicism.

This was the great cultural significance of the Reformation.

But when the Protestant faith led by the princes victoriously invaded the countries of northern Europe, the leaders changed the signals. It became apparent that the Protestant ministers could not resist the seductive temptations of power.



ILLUSTRATION FROM BOOK III, SONG 3 OF HOLBERG'S COMIC HEROIC POEM
"PEDER PAAR."

They soon became as fanatical enemies of personal conviction as the prelates of the Roman Church, and hardly half a century had passed over Luther's grave before the new church exercised a spiritual tyranny fully as reprehensible as that

of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. Even the least deviation from the "pure" canon was persecuted and punished. Lutheran orthodoxy with its lifeless and spiritless worship of the written word replaced the living Protestant creed.



NIELS KLIM AS PRISONER IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL LAND.
ILLUSTRATION IN BAGGESEN'S DELUXE EDITION OF HOLBERG'S
PHILOSOPHICAL-SATIRICAL TRAVELOGUE "NIELS KLIM."

This regrettable ending to the Reformation's spiritual awakening also set its mark on scientific research. The universities again sank down to being mere theological institutions where professors and students could practice dogmatic hairsplitting. Disputation was the main concern. In order to be considered learned, one must be able to debate for hours such important subjects as for example: If

the angels had ordinary feathers in their wings, if the Virgin Mary had felt birth pangs, David's dance before the Ark, Absalom's hair, Nebuchadnezzar's transformation into an ox, etc., etc.



STATUE OF HOLBERG IN
BERGEN.

This situation was probably worst at the University of Copenhagen. In Denmark the absolute monarchy and the Lutheran clergy had formed a very close relationship, which seemed to aim at extinguishing any spark of independent thought. In return for His Majesty's gracious protection and fat offices, an unanimous chorus sounded from all the pulpits in the land: The king stands above all human laws. The State is his personal property. To God alone does he owe any accounting for his actions.

Of course, any scientific research could hardly be expected to thrive at a university dedicated to train such royal lickspittles. Most professors became like a *Magister Stygotius*, writing "learned" treatises on the most uninteresting subjects and lecturing on them in a most uninspiring way.

Obviously, public education could not stand very high under such conditions. The darkest superstitions, ignorance, and backwardness spread over the entire Danish society.

The students sat in the university's lecture halls like *Erasmus Montanus*¹ and imagined they had imbibed all the world's wisdom when they knew "how many *Prædicamenta* and *Prædicabilia Logica* can be posited in unsettled times."

¹ *Erasmus Montanus* is a satirical play about academic conceit in rural Denmark, written by Ludvig Holberg in 1722.

Outside these hallowed halls, among the country's worthy burghers, foolish *Jeronimusses* went around and swore that the end of the world must be near whenever they met with something that had not existed in the days of their youth.

There were fellows who like *Jean de France* despised their Danish homeland and thought they were keeping up with the times because they had learned the latest dance steps and the newest French oaths.

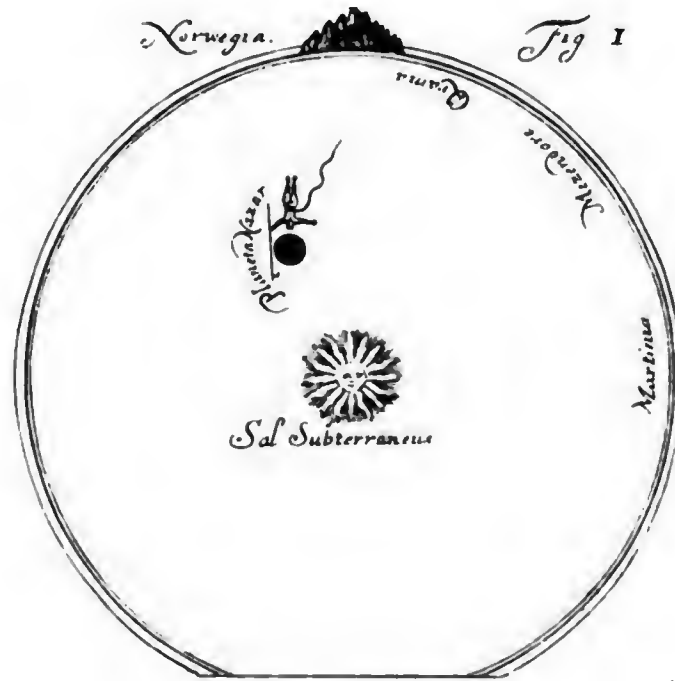


ILLUSTRATION OF NIELS KLIM'S VOYAGE TO THE PLANET NAZAR IN THE ORIGINAL LATIN EDITION OF "NIELS KLIM."

There were *Rosistenguises* who sold their verses "at market prices whenever a virtuous maiden was to be led to her bridal bed or death robbed a respectable matron of her lapdog"

In the taverns a *Herman von Bremen* would gather with shrewd statesmen of the same ilk, "while *Gedske* and other flibbertigibbets ran around on baby visits and filled each other up with natter and blather."

Such a society could well use a thorough reformation, and the Norwegian Holberg was the only one of his contemporaries who could carry through this vital purpose, since he alone possessed the creative genius and the inborn drive to excel.

It was a revealing sign that the relative strength of intellectual life in Denmark and Norway had been reversed since the Reformation – as was the case with respect to military power and defense capability. The latter turn-around in the two nations is illustrated in the person of Holberg's contemporary Tordenskiold. Both stressed their Norwegian birth and called attention to it at every opportunity.

It might well be seen as an odd thing that the reformer of Danish society should be a Norwegian, but at the same time there is no doubt that Holberg's nationality was a significant factor in his work. As a Norwegian in Copenhagen – at once at home and abroad – he stood close enough to the Danish society to scrutinize it with his penetrating intelligence but also sufficiently distant to escape being caught up in factional rivalry and partisan spirit.

No one should be surprised that his contemporaries were not able to appreciate his services to their society.

It has been said that: "Posterity has finally realized the enormous influence he had. As an author and philosopher he has made a great contribution that has made his name immortal. Without any preparatory national development having taken place, having no forerunners or contemporary fellows, he in solitary brilliance created a national comic literature of the first rank.

But he served a higher purpose than to give Norway and Denmark a comic literature. The main intent of his fictional tales as with his entire literary output was to "moralize." This word had in his mind a far wider and deeper meaning than we now assign to it. It meant to develop, enlighten, and civilize. Holberg never lost sight of this purpose. Whether he wrote witty satire or juridical textbooks, lusty comedies or serious history, treatises on religion or descriptions of his native country, proposals for university reforms or thoughts about cattle murrain, Holberg always had this objective in mind. Therefore he stands in the history of our intellectual development, not only as our greatest writer of comical tales and one of our most eminent historians, but as a civilizer on a grand scale."

Holberg's literary emergence was of great significance for the Norwegian people's national re-awakening. Not only because the light of his fame shone favorably over Norway, but because it was he who first led the stream of West-European culture – or rationalism – to our coasts.

It was just as if the Norwegians only had waited for Holberg's appearance to get the courage to show that they had gained the requisite abilities for national development in the intellectual area as well. The name that became best known in the newly created Danish-Norwegian literature after the death of the great pioneer

also belonged to a man of the Norwegian farmer class. It was Christian Braunman Tullin, who was born in Christiania in 1728. His significance certainly cannot be compared to Holberg's, but he still achieved a contemporary uncontested rank as Norway's and Denmark's foremost poet.



TITLE PORTRAIT FOR CHRISTIAN BRAUNMAN TULLIN'S "COLLECTED WORKS."

After Tullin came Peder Christopher Stenersen, Edvard Storm – the author of "Zinklarvisen" – and Gerhard Treschow, all three born in Gudbrandsdalen, and Nils Krog Bredal from Trondhjem.



WESSEL.

Graad smelted hen i Smil, naar Wessels Luncbød,
Og Glædens Smil forsvandt i Tåarer ved hans Død.

Bogtrykker

TITLE PORTRAIT FOR THE FIRST EDITION
OF JOHAN HERMAN WESSEL'S COLLECTED
WORKS.

"Einnar Tambarskielver", born near Trondhjem and died as bishop in Bergen in 1826; Bendix Djurhuus Prahll – publisher of "Skjaldetidendes" – and Søren Monrad – "The Latinist"; Jonas Rein, later member of the Constitutional

Thereafter the long row of "Det Norske Selskab's" highly regarded poets, critics, and scientific authors, among them the poet Johan Herman Wessel, born on the farm *Vestly* near Moss in 1742; Ove Gjerløw Meyer and Johan Wise – the society's founder and secretary; the jurist Christian Colbiørnsen – "the farmers' spokesman" – from Sørum on Romerike, who died as *justitiarius* on Denmark's Supreme Court; the philosopher Niels Treschow, who later became professor at the University of Christiania and head of the Church Department, born in Drammen and died in Christiania in 1833; the brilliant critic Claus Fasting from Bergen and editor of "Provincialbladet"; Thomas Rosing de Stokfleth – the author of "Heimatkosten" – and Christen Pram – publisher of "Minerva" – both from Gudbrandsdalen; Johan Nordahl Brun – "The patriot with the golden tongue" – composer of

Convention at Eidsvold – "the incomparable poet of sorrows"; and Jens Zetlist from Stavanger "the cheerful poet of joy"; Claus Frimann from Nordmøre – "poet of the common people"; and his brother Peter Harboe Frimann – composer of "*Horneelen*", who became a cabinet secretary in the Danish-Norwegian foreign ministry; and Jacob Edvard Colbiørnsen, who was his brother's predecessor as justice on Denmark's Supreme Court.

Norway also got several outstanding representatives in the sciences. Among these were the historian Gerhard Schøning from Vågen in Nordland and the naturalist Bishop Johan Ernst Gunnerus, who together with the Danish born scientist Peter Friedrich Suhm founded The Royal Norwegian Science Society in Trondhjem.





Karen Bach

Madame Juel
Fasting

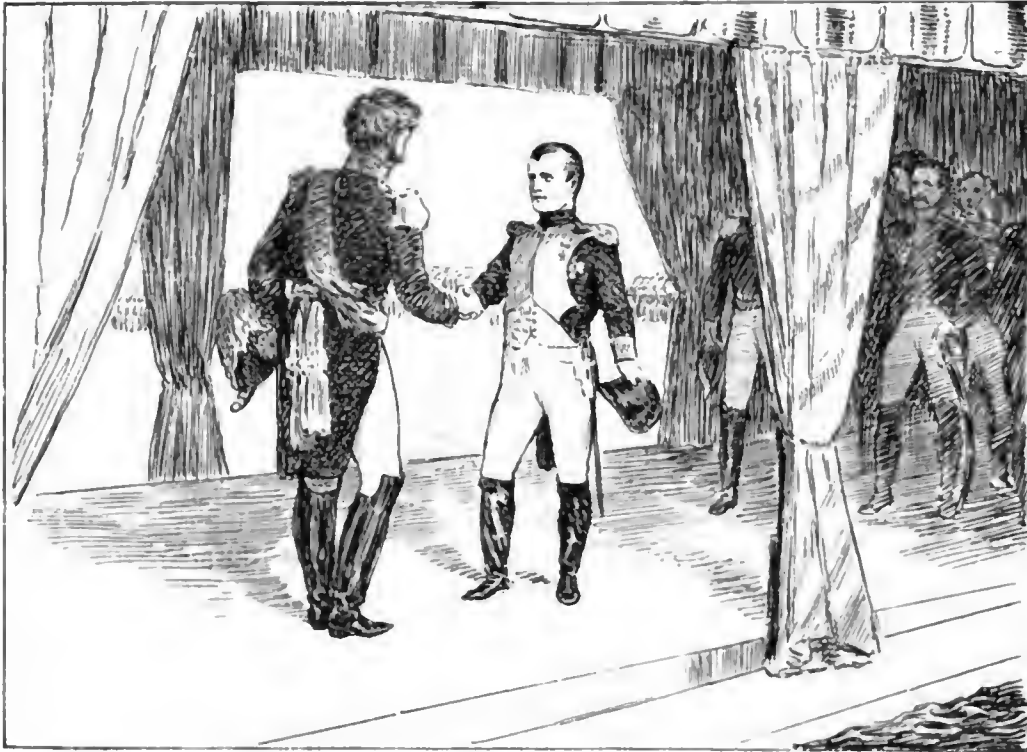
Baron wedel
J.H. Wessel K.L. Rahbeck
Søren Monrad

Johan Nordahl Brun

Leo Gjerløw Meyer
Viibe

EN AFTEN I DET NORSKE SELSKAB.

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NAPOLÉON AND ALEXANDER MEET ON A RAFT ON THE RIVER NIEMEN.

Chapter Fifteen

DEVELOPMENTS LEADING TO DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

The Treaties of Tilsit, which were based on agreements made by Napoleon and Alexander I at their meeting in a tent on a raft on the river Niemen on the 25th of June 1807, had wide-ranging consequences for the Scandinavian countries.

The young Russian autocrat, who until then had been a bitter enemy of the Corsican titan, became quite enchanted with Napoleon's exquisite courtesy and commanding personality during their meeting in Tilsit. An alliance was concluded, and an agreement was made to divide the dominion of the European mainland between them.

Great Britain was the only power that could interfere with this delightful plan, and it was therefore essential to bring the government at St. James Court to make peace with France. In order to break the islanders' intransigence, all countries should be forced to prohibit all commerce with Great Britain.

The Russian and French navies would hardly have any prospect of achieving much against the British superiority at sea – but Denmark-Norway was known to possess a substantial and well-manned fleet. Napoleon knew that the Oldenburg royal house was desperate to maintain its neutrality. However, he thought that the threat of marching a French army up against the border to Holstein would bring Crown Prince Frederik, who headed the government in the name of his mentally ill father, King Christian VII, to abandon neutrality and put the fleet at the disposal of France for the war with England.

And what should be done about *Sweden* – Great Britain's sole ally? Alexander's brother-in-law, Gustaf IV Adolf, thought Napoleon to be "the Beast" in the Book of Revelation and believed himself called by God to destroy this monster! The two emperors agreed that the king of Sweden for the time being should be punished by the loss of Finland, and Napoleon gave his newfound friend a free hand against the old Swedish province, remarking that St. Petersburg lay much too close to the Finnish border. It could no longer be tolerated that the lovely Russian ladies in St. Petersburg's palaces should be distressed about the threat of being troubled by the thunder of Swedish cannon!

*

The British government somehow gained knowledge of Napoleon and Alexander's interesting discussions in Tilsit and decided to steal a march on its enemies. In late July 1807 a British fleet gathered in Skagerak and Kattegat under command of Lord James Gambier. It consisted of no less than 25 ships of the line, 40 frigates, brigs, and bomb ketches plus 377 transport vessels carrying a landing force of about 30,000 men. Among its generals was Arthur Wellesley, who later won world-wide fame under the name of Wellington.

For most people it was a mystery what this enormous fleet was to be used for. Since the English attack on the Danish-Norwegian fleet in Copenhagen's harbor on the 2nd of April 1801 – the "Battle of Maundy Thursday," so bravely fought by our naval warriors – the united kingdoms had maintained quite friendly relations with Great Britain, and there was little doubt that Napoleon's aggressive behavior would shortly lead to a defensive alliance with England.

It is thus no wonder that the self-confident regent crown prince – despite several private warnings – would not believe in the possibility of another British surprise assault.

This prince, to whom two nations' welfare was entrusted, did not even give orders to ready the fleet or organize the defense of Zealand. He remained comfortably ensconced in Holstein, where the whole Danish-Holsteinian army had been stationed ever since 1803, serving no purpose, but draining the treasury.



CROWN PRINCE FREDERIK.

He daily issued an "Orders for Maneuvers" from his castle in Kiel – to play at commanding armies at war was his favorite past-time throughout his life.

Frederik continued his peace-time exercises right up to the 7th of August. Zealand by then was surrounded by Gambier's fleet, and the following morning

the British ambassador Sir Francis Jackson requested an audience. After informing the astonished crown prince about what had been agreed between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, he demanded on behalf of his government that the whole Danish-Norwegian fleet be surrendered. If promptly complied with, the ambassador was authorized to enter into a close alliance with the united kingdoms. The fleet would be returned at the eventual general peace settlement and any damages that the people might have suffered because the state was deprived of its naval defenses would be compensated with money. Great Britain had intentionally dispatched an overwhelming force in order to prevent unnecessary bloodshed.

Jackson's demand was of course as unreasonable and shameless as possible, but political morality has never been a characteristic of the British government – and all is fair in war.

It must be admitted that the crown prince's position was extraordinarily difficult. If the pride of Denmark-Norway – the fleet – was surrendered to the British without a fight, the mass of the people, who still knew even less of the political situation than the government, would have risen with an enraged howl against the countries' autocratic ruler.

But since Frederik had in all respects neglected his realm's defenses in order to maintain his useless army in Holstein, he should have taken the consequences like a man. Instead he indignantly rejected the ambassador's proposal and traveled to Copenhagen.

The citizens illuminated their houses in joy over his arrival. They thought that Crown Prince Frederik intended to fight victoriously or die in his nest like his namesake during the siege of Copenhagen in 1659, but nothing was farther from the royal drill master's mind. He only visited his capital in order to shift the blame for the coming events over to other shoulders. He hastily gave the defense of Copenhagen and the fleet, laid up in ordinary, to a 72 year old soldier, General Heinrich Ernst Peymann, and the same day left the city with his mentally ill father and all of the cabinet.

In order to deflect the people's rightful anger over this cowardly behavior, the crown prince spread a rumor that he was going to Holstein – and from here he would lead his well-trained troops to rescue the capital city!

But he knew very well that he would never have to prove his imagined talents as a field marshal, since the British warships blocked any access to Zealand by his troops.

After the flight of the royal family and the government, the outcome of the battle was a given. Copenhagen was surrounded on water and on land. The British began bombarding the unfortunate city on the 2nd of September and after 5 days General Peymann had to sign the surrender documents.

The whole fleet and all that went with it were given over – no longer as a temporary security pledge, but as British property.

The victors outfitted the ships in the course of five weeks and got ready to depart. What they could not take with them was destroyed in the most barbaric manner.

On the 21st of October the British vandals left Copenhagen harbor with their rich plunder, and we may imagine with what feelings the Danish and Norwegian seamen saw the magnificent ships disappear out of The Sound. The strongest bonds between Norway and Denmark were then broken.

A couple of days after the fleet's departure, the British ambassador once again offered Crown Prince Frederik the choice between neutrality or alliance. If the united kingdoms chose the latter alternative, Great Britain would not only pay compensation for the stolen fleet and guarantee the then existing sovereign territories of Denmark-Norway, but would also make available some island colonies in the West Indies at the eventual peace settlement.

The regent crown prince could not have gotten better terms if the united kingdoms had been the winner in the conflict, but even if Frederik had been man enough to put aside his personal grudges and only think of what would be best for his subjects, the public sentiment – especially in Denmark – was so overwrought that concluding a treaty with the "English pirates" could have had serious consequences for the royal house – its popularity was not high after the flight from Copenhagen in the moment of danger.

For Denmark it could also be questionable at this time what would be worst – a war with France or a war with Great Britain. In the former case, the Danish mainland would presumably be occupied by French troops, since led by such an impossible general as Crown Prince Frederik, the Danish-Holsteinian army would hardly be much of an obstacle. On the other hand, a war with Great Britain could risk occupation of all the Danish islands.

However, if the regent crown prince took any notice of *Norwegian* interests, the choice would not have been in doubt. Norway lay beyond reach of the French legions, while a war with Great Britain could bring the Norwegian people to the brink of disaster.

The anger over the robbery of the fleet apparently initially was as strong in Norway as in Denmark, and the Danish cry: "War with England or full restoration!" also resounded among the Norwegian mountains, but sympathy for England and the English was too natural and deep-rooted for the anger to last, and among the more knowledgeable people it soon became a common opinion that war with Great Britain was sheer insanity.

However, Norwegian interests were also this time to be set aside for Denmark and Holstein's.

On the 31st of October Denmark-Norway's ambassador signed the fateful treaty of alliance with France in the Fontainebleau palace – which resulted in a declaration of war from Great Britain on November 4th.

The Norwegians had received another example of the blessings of the union with Denmark and they would soon get yet another.

On the 29th of February 1808 the regent crown prince sent a declaration of war to *Sweden*. The Fontainebleau treaty did not contain any commitment to such a step – Napoleon had left Gustaf IV Adolf's punishment to Tsar Alexander, and the Russian army had already invaded Finland. Nor had the Swedish king shown himself so antagonistic that any declaration of war was called for.

However, it was well known that Gustaf Adolf envied Carl XII's martial reputation and dreamed of conquering Norway or Zealand with help of his British ally.

But if Carl XII's dream had been an absurdity, Gustaf Adolf's was sheer insanity – and by this time he really had lost some of his reason.

The new declaration of war therefore was not entirely unwelcome to the Swedish king. He immediately formed a plan for the "conquest" – anything less would not do – of Norway, and moved all available troops to his western border. He thought the Swedish army in Finland and the fortress Sweaborg were sufficient to hold the Russians at bay until the Norwegian campaign was decided – and then he would rush to Finland's defense.

The Danish-Norwegian regent crown prince, who had just then replaced his mentally ill father on the throne of the united kingdoms, had equally lofty plans. While the Russians advanced in Finland, a Danish-French army was to be transported to Scania and Norwegian troops would march toward Gothenburg. He envisioned a partition of the Swedish state – or even a renewal of the Kalmar Union.

Napoleon sent his new friend an assisting force of 26,000 men under Marshal Bernadotte.

But the British warships kept a watchful guard – the fate of the "*Prinds Christian Frederik*" testified to this. It was the only functional ship of the line to escape falling into the hands of the enemy when Copenhagen capitulated, since the vessel at that time lay at anchor at Christianssand.

"*Prinds Christian Frederik*" and the brig "*Lougen*" were ordered to cruise in Skagerak to protect the grain transports during the winter, and on one of these forays they met the British frigate "*Quebec*," which only with great difficulty was able to escape in among the Swedish coastal islands.



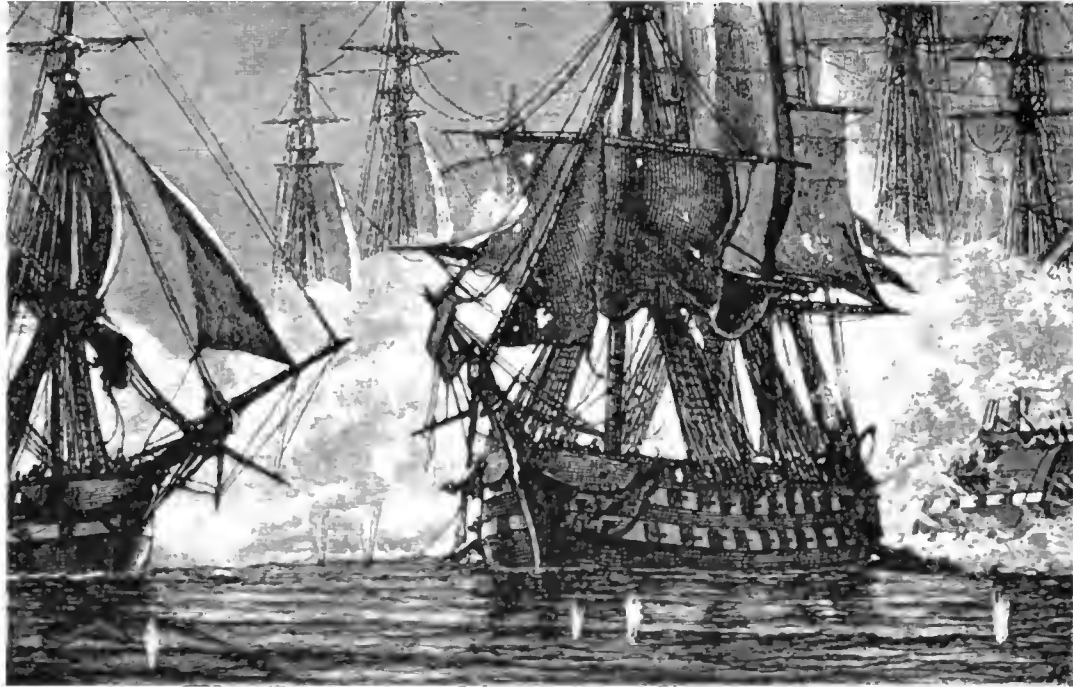
CARL WILHELM JESSEN

When this report reached England, Sir George Parker was immediately sent across the North Sea with a large squadron to destroy the remainder of the Danish-Norwegian fleet. One of the frigates ran down into the Great Belt and stationed itself outside Korsør. This hindered the transportation of the French troops, which were just in the process of crossing over to Zealand, and when "*Prinds Christian Frederik*" visited Helsingør on March 18, Captain Carl Wilhelm Jessen was ordered to chase off the frigate, since it was not known that several more enemy warships were in these waters.

Three days later the ship of the line left Helsingør with a crew of 576 men, most of them Norwegian. Jessen first intended to sail south around Zealand, but when the wind shifted to southwest, he set the course to the west. The ship went to anchor by Sejerø in the evening and two British frigates, which had been sighted in the afternoon, laid up a little below Refsnæs.

The next morning all three warships got under sail. Since it would not be favorable for him to fight in the restricted waters, Jessen began to tack northward again to get into open sea. The frigates followed and soon were reinforced by a corvette that came sailing down from the north. "*Prinds Christian Frederik*"

reached up to Sjællands Odde [Zealand Point] in the afternoon and Jessen was just getting ready to clear the ship for action when he saw 2 ships of the line up by Hesselø. They were "*Statelý*" and "*Nassau*" under Admiral Parker's personal command. He had gone by Helsingborg and had received all the necessary information about "*Prinds Christian Frederik*" from the Swedes.



"PRINDS CHRISTIAN FREDERIK'S" LAST BATTLE.

Of course there was no sense in taking up the fight against such an overwhelming enemy force. A council of war was called and the officers decided that: "If "*Prinds Christian Frederik*" sailed south into the Great Belt, it would draw the enemy squadron after it and increase the difficulties with preventing the crossing of the French troops. It would better to try to get back to Helsingør and in this way draw the enemy away from the Great Belt."

Admiral Parker had also thought of the possibility of such a maneuver and had left the ship of the line "*Vanguard*" in Øresund to block the way back.

Jessen continued tacking northward. He still hoped to escape from his pursuers under cover of darkness, but when the skies cleared and the wind slackened, battle could not be avoided.

The first shots were fired at 7½ o'clock in the evening. "*Stately*" and "*Nassau*" soon laid themselves on each side of "*Prinds Christian Frederik*," but after an hour and a half the British ships were forced to draw back followed by loud huzzahs from the Danes and Norwegians. However, they soon returned, reinforced by the frigate "*Quebec*," and against this triple superior force it was impossible to contend.



PETER WILLEMOËS.

So that the enemy should not drag this last of the Danish-Norwegian swans home as booty, Jessen sailed down to Sjællands Odde and set his ship aground. He assumed that the British would follow him, but they discovered the danger at the last moment and dropped their anchors. Jessen then had to strike his flag, since a third of his crew were dead or unfit for battle.

Among the dead were the famous Lieutenant Willemoës, Lieutenant Dahlerup, and the infantry lieutenant Soland, who commanded the onboard detachment of the Vestfold Regiment. All the other officers were wounded.

After the battle, Admiral Parker tried to re-float "*Prinds Christian Frederik*," but in vain. Its keel stuck stubbornly fast in its homeland, and so the exasperated victors set fire to the wreck.

Thus Denmark-Norway's last ship of the line ended its existence, but its crew's heroic fight will always stand as an illustrious moment in our history of naval warfare.

The report of the battle caused a general mourning – especially in the Christianssand district, since of the 64 who fell in the battle, 35 came from there.

Among the British ships, "*Stately*" was so damaged that it had to sail back to England, but to replace it, Admiral Sir James Saumarez was sent to Øresund with 20 ships of the line and frigates.

Of course King Frederik now had to abandon all thoughts of landing in Scania – and Norway, whose international shipping and trade already was eliminated by the British declaration of war – Norway whose coasts were blockaded and its

people in danger of starvation – was charged with the task of escorting the Swedish "army of conquest" back across the border.

The Norwegians took care of this problem as well, and in style – but at the same time their respect for the common *Pater Patriae* and the union with Denmark and Holstein sank nearly to zero.

If the Norwegian people's naïve loyalty and belief in the principle of the inheritable monarchy had not been so marvelously strong, they might have bid King Frederik VI *adieu* then, concluded a peace treaty with Great Britain, and persuaded their highly respected military leader, Prince Christian August of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg to ascend the vacant throne.

But the Norwegians did not yet possess that much self-confidence and enterprise.





SEALS OF THE ROYAL NORWEGIAN ARMY AND MILITARY OFFICES IN 1808.

Chapter Sixteen

THE WAR WITH SWEDEN IN 1808.

Since the British fleet had surrounded Zealand, Crown Prince Frederik understood that Norway in the case of war would be left to its own devices – and then he might face a breakup of the Oldenburg monarchy. In order to fend off this possibility he decided – like Friderich IV during the Great Northern War – to divide the government in Norway between several gentlemen: Major General Prince Christian August, who was to preside "whenever the military command entrusted to him allows him to attend;" *Stiftamtmand* in Akershus, Count Gerhard Moltke; *Justitiarius* in Christiania *Stiftoverret*, Enevold de Falsen; and *Amtmand* in the Small Fiefs [Østfold], Marcus Giøe Rosenkrantz.

This so-called Government Commission, which now was to rule the country on behalf of the Union king, held its first meeting on September 1, 1807 – and with that the splitting up of Norway's and Denmark-Holstein's large community estate began.



PRINCE CHRISTIAN AUGUST.

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It was an extremely difficult and bothersome task that the four gentlemen were charged with carrying out. The patriarchal absolute monarchy had almost scraped the bottom of the Norwegian treasury and at the same time had neglected the country's defenses in the most outrageous manner.

Frederik Brunzel Holmann
Gerhard Rosenkrantz Truelsen

In addition, the unexpected war with Great Britain immediately stopped both all foreign and domestic trade, which again resulted in a lamentable reduction in the state income. Almost all money circulation ceased. The joint state bank had its seat in Copenhagen, and the communications that way were barred by British warships. In order to remedy the worst of the financial stress, a so-called "Lending Institute" was established in Christiania.



ENEVOLD
DE FALSEN



GERHARD, COUNT OF MOLTKE



MARCUS GIØE
ROSENKRANTZ

The worst problem was providing the necessary importation of grains for the country. The winter was approaching, and the usual fleet of Danish grain transports was not coming. The government therefore gladly accepted an offer from

the *amtmand*¹ in Buskerud, Count Johan Herman Wedel-Jarlsberg, to head up a provisioning commission that would take charge of importing grain on behalf of the state. The count accomplished his task with inexhaustible energy. He might appear in Gothenburg, then cross over to Jutland in an open boat to make purchases or sign contracts for future deliveries of grain and other necessities, and on he would go.

Other patriots also joined in these efforts. The *stiftsamtmand* in Christianssand, Nicolai Emanuel de Thygeson; the *amtmand* in Bratsberg, Severin Løwenskiold; and the proprietor of Ness Iron Works, Jacob Aall, deserve special mention, but all their efforts were not enough to ward off want. "Icelandic moss"² and ground up tree bark often had to make do in lieu of grains.



SEVERIN
LØWENSKIOLD



J.C. HERMAN, COUNT OF WEDEL-JARLSBERG



NICOLAI E.
DE THYGESON

Into the middle of all this distress, Frederik VI launched his untimely and mindless declaration of war against Sweden. By New Year's the Norwegian government had received secret orders to make the necessary preparations, but it was not easy to make war with no money. Private willingness to sacrifice remedied the worst of the deficiencies, and in Prince Christian August the army got a leader that every Norwegian looked up to with trust and admiration. He was not only a competent general, but also a noble, upright man with a warm heart for his subordinates' welfare. Since the days of Gyldenløve, no man had been able to win the boundless devotion of the Norwegian farmers and soldiers to the extent that Christian August did. The renown of the "*Gustenborger*," as the common people called him, still lives in the Norwegian people's grateful memory.

¹ *Amtmand* - county administrator.

² A kind of lichen.

In the disposition of his forces, the prince considered the defense of the country east of Glomma and the protection of all roads leading to Christiania to be of primary importance. (See the map on page 202.) All troops that could be spared from the west coast and Trøndelagen were therefore sent to southeastern Norway. Just a couple of battalions were left in Bergen and two brigades of the remaining troops were stationed in Trøndelagen, where General Friedrich von Krogh commanded. One brigade of 2,000 men was placed in the Røros area under Colonel Gerhard Bang; the other, of 1,200 men, was led by Lieutenant General Carl Jacob Woldemar von Schmettow and was encamped at Stiklestad.

The army in southeastern Norway was supposed to consist of 17,500 men, but when the war broke out this number was significantly reduced due to sickness. The Vestfold Regiment also had to man the garrison in Christianssand and crew the 51 gunboats and longboats – a coastal defense which was mostly procured by voluntary donations. 7,100 men were assigned to garrisons in Kongsvinger, Akershus, Frederiksstén, Frederiksstad, Frederiksværn, and some other minor coastal fortifications.

The southern army available for operations therefore numbered barely 7,500 men and as badly equipped as possible. Thus not more than half of the planned cavalry could be set up due to lack of horses, but the Norwegians did not lose courage because of it, and Prince Christian August disposed his forces as follows:

Right wing brigade:

- 3,000 men between Frederiksstad and Frederikshald commanded by Colonel Hans Gram Holst.
- 2 battalions of the Southern Regiment led by the Majors Otto Hiermann and Nicolai Huitfeldt.
- 2 battalions of the Northern Regiment led by the Majors Fredrik Fischer and Hans Nobel de Coucheron.
- 1 battalion of the Norwegian Jäger Corps led by Major Andreas Samuel Krebs.
- 2 squadrons of the Small Fiefs Regiment led by Colonel Jørgen Michelet.
- 1 battery of horse artillery led by Captain Haffner.

Center brigade:

- 2,000 men between Lier and Kongsvinger under Colonel Werner Nicolai de Seue.
- 1 grenadier battalion of the 1st Akershus and Oppland Regiments led by Major Johan Müller.
- 1 grenadier battalion of the 2nd Akershus and Telemark Regiments led by Major Frederik von Ditten.
- 1 battalion of the Light Infantry Regiment led by Major Berennt Kreuz.
- 1 company of the Northern Ski Corps led by Captain Klüwer.
- 1 wheeled battery led by Captain Antzec.

Left wing brigade:

1,150 men between Elverum and Solør commanded by Colonel Bernhardt Ditlev von Staffeldt.

1 grenadier battalion of the 2nd Trondhjem Regiment led by Major Johan Georg Ræder.

1 battalion of the Southern Ski Corps led by Major Frederik W.B. Stabell.

Lærdal Light Infantry Company led by Captain Wilhelm Jürgensen.

½ squadron of the Oppland Dragoon Regiment.

A reserve detachment of 800 men commanded by Colonel Christoph F.P.T. von Lowsow was tasked with guarding against crossing the Glomma at Haga, Blakjer, and Fet.

Another detachment of 500 men commanded by Colonel Johan Andreas C. Ohme – about half of them volunteers – was posted at Onstadsund and Grønsund

Major Johan Georg Mejlender, Captain Johan H. Holst, and Cavalry Commander Niels S. Darre were appointed *aides-de-camp*, Major Johannes Sejersted was appointed as the army's general quartermaster, and the regimental surgeon Magnus Thulstrup as surgeon general.

Floff & Lee = Dr. P. Ræder
Sejersted Ohme Sejersted Thulstrup
Stabell 21 Cameron
Hermann Müller Sejersted

The Swedish army that was to attack Norway was the so-called "Western Army" commanded by General Baron Gustaf Mauritz Armfeldt. On the 13th of April he set up his headquarters in Adolfsfors surrounded by his general staff, which was considerably more numerous and glittering with names than that with which Prince Christian August had to be content. It consisted of the following:

Adjutant general: Lieutenant Colonel Baron Sparre.

Senior adjutants: Lieutenant Colonel Lagerbing, the Majors Count Löwenhielm and Bergenstråhle, the Captains Baron C.H. Ankarswärd and Baron Wrangel.

Staff adjutants: The Lieutenants R. Taube, A. Ankarswärd, and G. Sparre.

Intendant general: Regional governor Baron Lilljehorn.

Engineer officers: Major Winblad and Captain Jean-Bart.

Topography officers: Major Sköldebrand and Lieutenant Count A. Oxenstierna.

Field secretary: Winkler.

Judge advocate general: Ehrenstam.

Chief military prosecutor: Stiernstam.

Surgeon general: Tidström.

Chief finance officer: Billberg.

The Western Army was divided between the Right Wing, commanded by Baron Armfeldt himself, and the Left Wing under by General Baron Ernst von Vegesack, who also had an ample general staff at his disposal.

In the middle of March the army was fully complemented and then – according to the Swedish general staff's war archives – consisted of the following:

Right wing:

1st brigade 1,700 men under Colonel Count Leyonstedt at Morast.

2nd " 2,300 " " Colonel Count Schwerin at Skillingsmark.

3^d " 1,650 " " Colonel Baron Cederström at Dalen.

4th " 1,700 " " Colonel Count Cronstedt at Silbodal.

A detachment 580 " " Colonel von Gahn at Medskogenen.

A cavalry reserve 400 men under Colonel Aminoff at Carlstad.

An artillery reserve 150 " " Colonel Baron Armfeldt at Carlstad.

Left wing:

1st brigade 1,500 men under Colonel Baron Posse at the Långvall bridge.

2nd " 1,950 " " Lt. Colonel Hierta between Töftedal and Räfmarken.

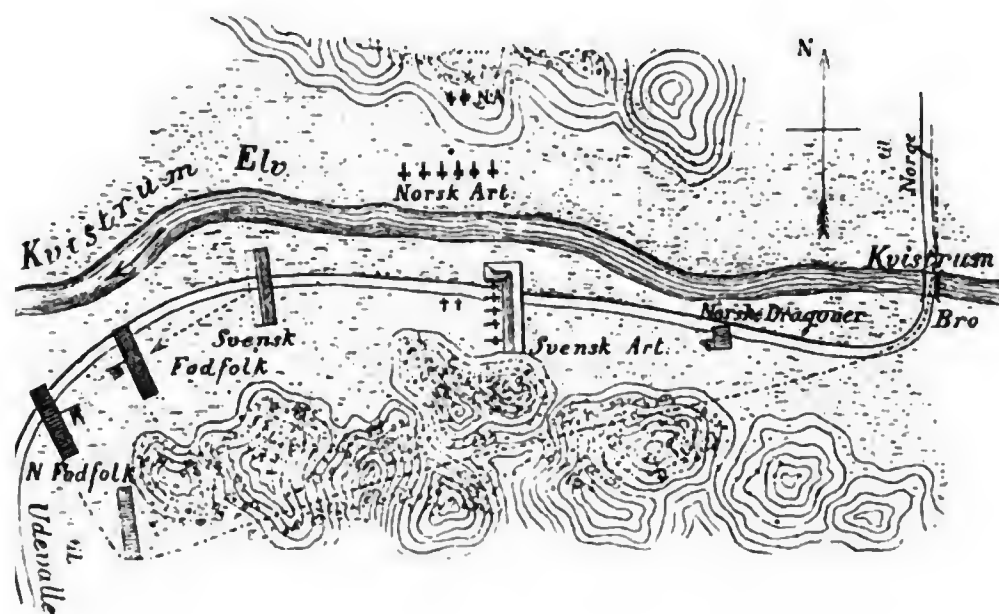
3^d " 1,620 " " Colonel Belfrage at Gothenburg and Marstrand.

A cavalry and Jäger brigade of 1,460 men under Colonel Baron Palmstjerne along the southern border with Norway from Iddefjorden to Sollems Tull.

The Western Army's mobile forces thus numbered ca. 15,300 men. The field artillery consisted of 40 cannon.

In addition there was the so-called "Northern Corps" of 2,300 men stationed along the boundaries of Jämtland and Herjedalen commanded by Colonel Bergenstråhle.

The mobile Swedish army thus was about twice as large as the Norwegian, and since Armfeldt possessed a crushingly superior cavalry, the Norwegian army commander's position was not enviable.



THE SWEDES SURROUNDED AT THE KVISTRUM BRIDGE 28 SEPTEMBER 1788.

Nor did the Swedish king have any doubts about the outcome. He must have imagined Norway's many stone fortresses to be mere fairytale castles since the Western Army did not bring along any siege artillery. Gustaf IV Adolf had probably not studied in any depth such unpleasant subjects as Gyldenløve's victorious campaign in Sweden or Carl XII's failed campaign in Norway. It is also possible that he hoped that the Norwegians' martial spirit had been dulled during the long period of peace, though this must have been a weak hope, since Gustaf Adolf as crown prince had seen a striking proof that the Norwegian army at least had not lost its traditional speed of marching – and an army's maneuverability will often determine the outcome. He should have remembered this occasion in 1788.

On the 25th of September a Norwegian army of 11,000 men – as allies of Russia – crossed over Svinesund under the command of the Norwegian viceroy, Prince Carl of Hessen. The following day they occupied Strömstad, on the 28th a Swedish corps of 850 men under General Hierta was surrounded at Kvistrum and taken prisoner with all their artillery and baggage after a short fight. On the 1st of October Prince Carl moved into Uddevalla. On the 3^d Vänersborg was occupied – and on the 5th Norway's old border fortress Båhus. The next day the siege of Gothenburg began. The defense was led by Gustav III in person. But there was no doubt about the outcome.



PRINCE CARL OF HESSEN.

The emissaries of Great Britain and Prussia then came to the Norwegian camp and threatened war if hostilities were not suspended. Crown Prince Frederik, who

accompanied the Norwegian army in person, found it best to yield to the great powers' threat of force, and on the 8th of October a week's ceasefire was agreed with the Swedes contingent on the Norwegians being left in undisturbed possession of Båhuslen and Dalsland.

The emissaries later managed to have the ceasefire converted to a six month armistice.

On the 6th of November the Norwegian army began to withdraw from the conquered Swedish areas, and a week later the army was back in Norway again.

Thus this Norwegian campaign did not have serious consequences for the Swedes thanks to the intervention by Great Britain and Prussia.

Going all the way back to "Hannibal's War," the leading men in Sweden had shown a remarkable lack of memory with regard to the history of Swedish-Norwegian wars. One would still have thought that the memory of this brilliant case in point of the Norwegian army's speed of maneuver just 20 years earlier would have been fresh in the minds of Gustaf Adolf and his advisers.



According to the Swedish war plan the whole Western Army was to move simultaneously across the border and occupy the east banks of the Glomma from Kongsvinger to Frederiksstad. When this was done, the next move was to break through the Norwegian lines of defense and advance toward Christiania – in order to gain control of all below a straight line from Christiania to Eda, as it was so grandly stated in the commanding general's "Plan of Conquest."

Armfeldt surely had worked out the details of this fanciful plan himself, but we may assume that Gustaf Adolf personally had specified the main outlines of this attempt at conquest in one of his less lucid periods.

Colonel von Gahn began sending his reconnaissance detachments forward to the Flisen River already on the 8th of April. On the 14th of April Schwerin's brigade moved across the border at Kråkfoss in Hedemark, and the following day Levonstedt marched over Magnor to Kongsvinger and Cederström marched to Basmo.

However, the 4th brigade could not follow along. Cronstedt had orders to wait for the Western Army's left wing, but this corps did not stir, since its commander, Baron von Vegesack, originally had expected to receive the command of the whole Western Army. Now he would take revenge on Armfeldt and did not consider it below his dignity to play a trick on his superior at such a critical moment. He remained encamped in Sweden on a pretext of lacking provisions.

Thus the Swedish plan of attack had already fallen apart.

When the Schwerin brigade came to Kråkfoss, it immediately came upon a small border guard detachment commanded by Lieutenant Krebs. With the loss of a couple of men, the detachment succeeded in retreating across Manglefjeld closely pursued by Schwerin's *avant-garde* under Lieutenant Colonel Lagerbring. The Swedes halted in Setskog in the evening, while Krebs continued his retreat.

The guard detachment was augmented to ca. 100 men by drawing in several outposts, and with these Lieutenant Krebs took up an advantageous position at Haneborg. He hoped to be able to stop the enemy's advance until he could receive reinforcements from Major von Ditten, who had been sent down from Lier by Colonel de Seue with 850 men to guard Høland and Aurskog. However, the reinforcements did not come, and when Lagerbring attacked Haneborg in the afternoon of the next day with 200 *jäger* [riflemen] and 10 *hussars* [light cavalry], Lieutenant Krebs was obliged to give up his position after a couple of hours of fighting.

Meanwhile, von Ditten had got his guard force together, but instead of charging the enemy with his superior strength, he marched out of Høland as fast as he could and crossed over Glomma at Fetsund. It had been reported that Lagerbring had received significant reinforcements, and von Ditten apparently thought that the whole Schwerin brigade already had arrived at Haneborg. But that was not so. The reinforcements only consisted of 330 grenadiers and *hussars* under the brigade's second in command, Lieutenant Colonel Count Axel Mörner.

Lieutenant Krebs, who had thus been left in the lurch by his commander, now had no option but to leave Aurskog. He re-crossed Glomma at Blakjersund

pursued by Count Mörner, who occupied the abandoned Blakjer fortifications on Easter Sunday April 17th.

In the meantime Schwerin had assembled his main force at Haneborg and Lagerbring was quickly sent down to the Høland church. He was to establish a connection to Cederström's brigade, which had extended its outposts up toward Rødenes. He succeeded in this, but it had little significance, since when Prince Christian August in the evening of April 15 heard that Schwerin had crossed the border at Kråkfoss, he immediately decided to attack this brigade before it could join up with Cederström.

The prince received the report of the enemy invasion in his headquarters at Skjeberg. Since Cronstedt and the Western Army's left wing remained stationary within Sweden's borders, Christian August was free to make use of Holst's brigade, which had just assembled by the headquarters. Hiermann's battalion was left behind in Skjeberg to support the border guards, and by dawn the prince was already on the march northward with ca. 2,000 men. Near Trøgstad he received an express report about von Ditten's retreat, Mörner's occupation of the Blakjer fortifications, and Lagerbring's advance into Høland.



That Schwerin had divided his fighting forces substantially aided the prince's plan of attack. His *aide-de-camp* Captain Darre was sent with express orders to Colonel Lowzow's headquarters in Sørum to send von Ditten's battalion together with all other available troops in the reserve detachment over Fetsund and Blakjersund to attack the enemy in the flank. He would himself command the main attack through Høland.

PETER F.K.T.
VON LOWZOW.

Christian August's troops arrived at the Trøgland church in the late afternoon of April 18th. Despite their strenuous forced march the soldiers' spirits were high, since their adored leader shared all their hardships. The prince gave another great example of this that night. Instead of seeking shelter at the parsonage, he laid himself down to sleep on the snow-covered field together with the soldiers, which of course caused general jubilation when they discovered the prince resting among them in the morning.

The troops broke up from Trøgstad so early that they could attack the enemy at noontime.



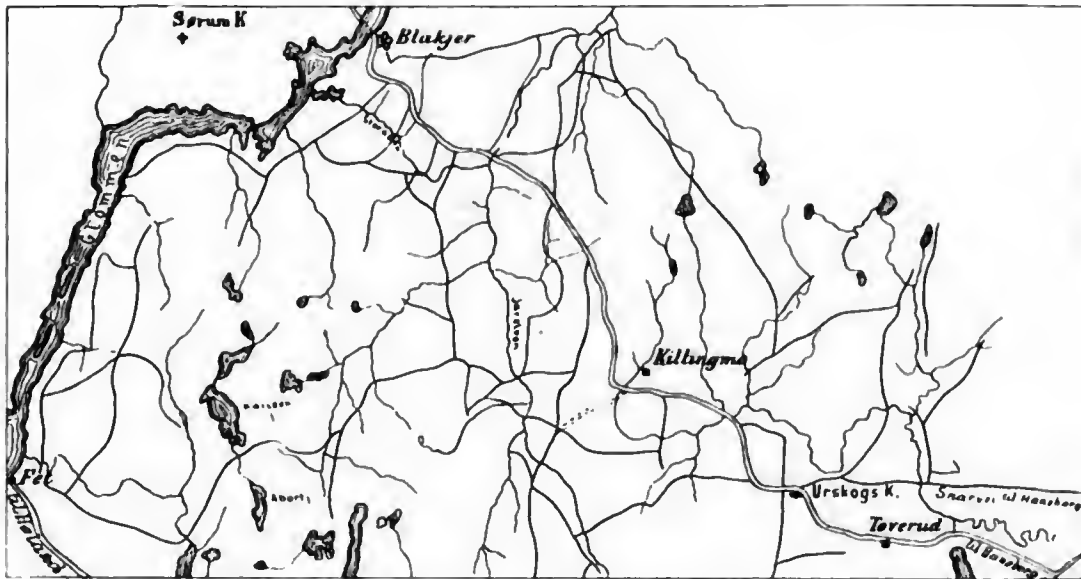
THE BIVOUAC AT THE TRØGSTAD CHURCH.

The *avant-garde* consisted of the the Norwegian *Jäger* corps under Major Krebs. When they arrived at Hemnes they were warned that an enemy outpost lay at Østby, consisting of 50 *jäger* under Lieutenant Youngman and Sub- lieutenant Count Cronstedt.

Krebs wanted to try to surround them and marched up a winter path across Enger. When the vanguard under Lieutenant Carl von Haxthausen approached this place they found a Swedish patrol occupying the farm. With the armorer Hegum, Sergeant Quartermaster Dahl, and a fourteen year old bugle-blower, Ole Berg, in front, the squad charged the farm. It was a short, but hot fight. Even the little trumpeter was overcome by bloodlust and ran a hunting dagger through a Swedish soldier who was aiming his musket at him. Some of the Swedes managed to escape and made their way to the outpost at Østby. The *aide-de-camp* Count Axel Oxenstierna, who held the command in Høland during the temporary absence of Lagerbring in the headquarters at Haneborg, immediately sent the outpost reinforcements consisting of 79 grenadiers, *jäger*, and hussars under Lieutenant Count Lewenhaupt. However, when it became apparent that the

Norwegians were too strong to overcome, Oxenstierna pulled the whole force back to the Høland church. Here he hoped to receive reinforcements from Captain Coyett, who was at the Bakkestad farms with 130 men. Coyett also came to the church – but he too was retreating.

The adjutant Niels Darre had carried out his task expeditiously, and at the same time as the prince broke up from Trøgstad, von Ditten's troops had crossed the Glomma together with some of Lowsow's reserves.



The Captains Heyerdahl and Weitzmann had been charged with cutting off the route of retreat for the Swedish detachment in Høland. At noon they took up a position at the Bakkestad farms with 220 men, and it was this maneuver that caused Captain Coyett to withdraw down to the church in Høland.

Count Oxenstierna at once made a quick decision to evade capture. He formed his 280 hussars, *jäger*, and grenadiers into a closed column and swiftly marched northward in double-time. When the Swedes got to Weitzmann's skirmish line, they stormed forward with loud shouts and cut their way through despite the Norwegians' efforts to stop them. Major Krebs arrived soon after with his *jäger* and took up an energetic pursuit of the fugitives, but aided by the falling darkness they succeeded in joining up with Schwerin's main force at Haneborg.

= *Darre*

The march from Trøgstad in deep snow had of course been very taxing. Christian August therefore halted his advance and set up camp by the Høland parsonage. From here the adjutant Captain Holst was sent to Setskog with 6 companies to cut off Schwerin's line of communications with Sweden. The Captains Zarbell and Heyerdahl likewise got orders to occupy the passes at Lund and Hemnes to block any attempts to advance by Cederström's brigade.

Christian August intended to attack Haneborg on the following day, but on the march there he got the welcome message that the Swedes had suffered a significant loss at Toverud and what was left of Schwerin's brigade already was in full retreat back to Sweden.

Lieutenant Colonel Mörner had not been as lucky as Oxenstierna. Since he occupied the fortifications at Blakjer he had not received any guidance from the headquarters at Haneborg. Mörner expected reinforcements, but none appeared, and when he observed that Norwegian troops were beginning to cross Glomma at Hagesund in the morning of April 19th, he decided that his position was untenable and sent 100 *jäger* ahead to Haneborg while he himself waited a little longer, since it was possible that a detachment of Schwerin's brigade might be on its way to Blakjer. But by afternoon all hope was gone. Lowsow's reserves also began to cross at Blakjersund, and so Count Mörner left the fortifications with the remainder of his force.

The Swedes marched back to Aurskog without encountering a single patrol. This looked suspicious, and since they were apprehensive of blundering into an ambush if they marched by the main road, Mörner went up to the parsonage and asked about a shortcut to Haneborg, but of course he was not told of any and so he continued to march toward Toverud in the dark.

At midnight the Swedes unexpectedly encountered a Norwegian patrol that had been sent out by Major Poul Weyby, who lay at Toverud with 3 companies of the Oppland Regiment, 3 companies of von Ditten's battalion, and 40 Skedsmo dragoons under Lieutenant Beichmann.

These troops had left Fetsund in the forenoon and marched to cut off Mörner's retreat when the other division of Lowsow's reserves had driven him out of the fortifications at Blakjer.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the vanguard – the dragoons and the sharpshooters – came to Killingmo. An enemy outpost with 80 grenadiers commanded by Major Enesköld lay encamped here. The Swedes put up a brave defense, but

were soon obliged to seek safety in flight, leaving 15 dead and wounded behind on the field of battle.

The pursuit stopped at Toverud, since Major Weyby decided to wait for Mörner there. A barricade was hastily constructed across the road to prevent the Swedish horsemen from charging through, and since the fields on both sides were covered in deep snow, the enemy could not escape their fate.

After an hour's fight Mörner gave the signal to capitulate and rode up to the barricade. The young Lieutenant Gregers Lundh, who commanded in this location, ran up to receive the surrender and the count is then said to have muttered: "It is hard to have to give up my sword to a mere boy."

Besides Mörner himself, 5 officers, 3 non-commissioned officers, and 112 enlisted men were taken prisoner. Lieutenant Sixten Sparre and 12 grenadiers, who formed the rearguard, were able to escape into a scrub thicket and make their way to Haneborg with word of the detachment's fate.

In a report to the government dated 22nd of April, Prince Christian August expressed great satisfaction with the troops. Among other things, he wrote about the skirmish at Tofterud: "On this occasion the Oppland musketeer battalion has, like the others, shown splendid courage and steadfastness as is seemly for genuine Norwegians and sets them on a level equal to the most experienced soldiers. Engaged for the first time, and in the night, they maintained order, and some wounded, who had been shot in the arms or legs, still remained active and did not let themselves be bandaged until after the affair ended."

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'P. Weyby'. The script is cursive and somewhat stylized, with a large loop at the end.

However, the joy over the defeat of the Schwerin brigade was soon dampened. A report came from Kongsvinger that Leyonstedt's brigade had advanced all the way to Lier¹ led by Armfeldt himself and had forced the Norwegians out of their fortifications.

¹ This must be a farm Lier that gave name to Lierfoss in Aurskog-Høland; not Lier in Buskerud.

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When the Swedish commanding general crossed the border at Magnor on the 15th of April, Colonel de Seue had, as aforementioned, sent Major von Ditten with 850 men to guard service in Aurskog and Høland. His brigade therefore only numbered 1,100 men.

As the Norwegian outposts retreated, they gathered at Lier, and Major Kreutz was ordered to take up a position here with 800 men. De Seue himself preferred to cross over to the left bank of Glomma and stood there as a reserve with the rest of the brigade – in the shelter of Kongsvinger Fortress' cannon.

In the morning of Easter Monday Armfeldt began his attack on Lier, and after 8 hours of battle against an enemy twice as strong as his own force, Major Kreutz had to withdraw from his position, since de Seue would not send him either ammunition or reinforcements. The Norwegian losses ran to 100 dead, wounded, and taken prisoner. The brave Lieutenant Blix was among the first to fall. According to the Swedes' own records, they only lost 71 dead and wounded.



In the evening Kreutz retreated across Glomma and Armfeldt moved his frontline right up to the riverbank.

The skirmish at Lier now prevented Prince Christian August from attacking Cederström's brigade, which stayed relatively quiet in the border districts around Ørje and Rødenes.

Colonel de Seue had requested reinforcements and he got them. Major von Ditten was sent back with 3 divisions of his battalion, but the prince also came along – and de Seue was removed from command. His brigade later was divided between von Lowzow and von Staffeldt.

Prince Christian August had first intended to attack the Swedes in their strong position at Lier, but he gave this up for the time being because he lacked the necessary troop strength and instead returned to Høland. Baron Armfeldt also realized that the Leyonstedt brigade would have to be content with what it had won – until Colonel Gahn came down from the north with his corps. In the meantime the Swedish commander would travel back to his headquarters in Karlanda and direct his other troop movements from there – he still had not heard about Schwerin's retreat.

Before he left Lier, Armfeldt ordered Count Leyonstedt "to have many fascines and gabions made." They probably were to be used in besieging Kongsvinger Fortress – when Colonel Gahn came south with his flying corps.

But Gahn did not come, and he had a good excuse, since 5 days after the skirmish at Toverud he also suffered Count Mörner's fate. His flying corps flew right into the arms of von Staffeldt's brigade near Trangen in Solør.

As mentioned above, Colonel Gahn had already on the 8th of April begun sending reconnaissance detachments forward to Flisen. At that time forest paths along both sides of this river led down to the church at Åsnes, and from there the main road led to Kongsvinger. Since the enemy could hardly choose any other route, Staffeldt had stationed most of his brigade in this area.



BERNHARDT DITLEV
VON STAFFELDT.

On the 11th of April Colonel Gahn also sent his *aide-de-camp* Baron Cederström across the Flisa River with 155 men to reconnoiter the path along the north bank. At Rønnesäter the Swedes encountered 30 grenadiers of the Trondhjem Regiment under Lieutenant Timme. The Norwegians lay well protected and directed a withering musket fire against the Swedish vanguard, but when the enemy force proved too strong, Timme was obliged to retreat down to Skalbukilen with the Swedes in close pursuit.

Staffeldt had meanwhile heard about the enemy's advance and marched up to Nyen with a battalion of grenadiers. Here he met the outpost from Rønnesäter.

Now it was the Swedes' turn to retreat, and the grenadiers followed right on their heels back to Rønnesäter.

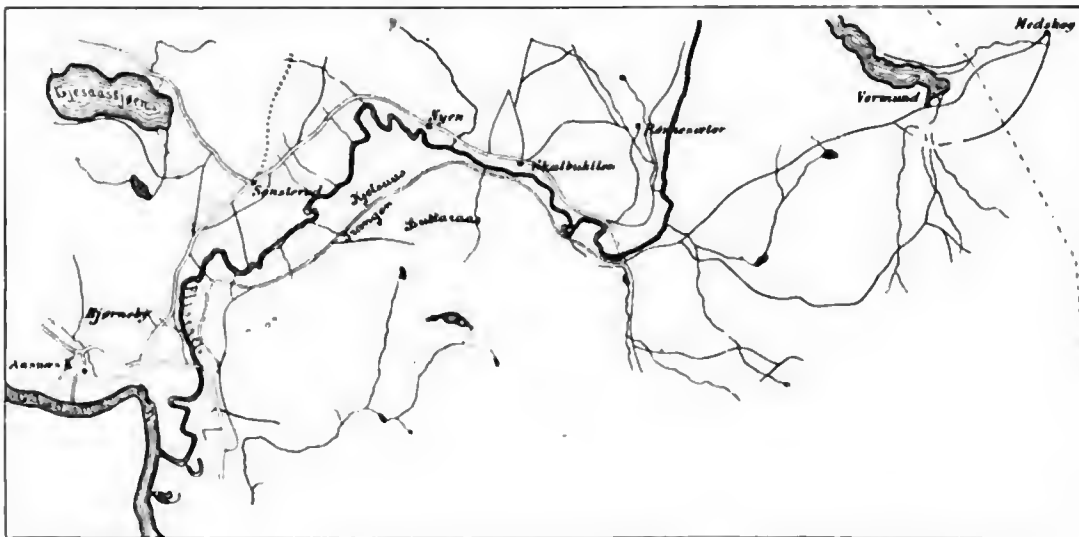
Oddly enough Cederström repeated his visit to Nyen a couple of days later with 190 men, but this time the baron had to pay a higher price for his foolhardiness. He himself was shot in the foot and he had to leave 12 dead and wounded behind on the battlefield.

On the 15th of April Lieutenant Timme and 20 ski troopers repaid the Swedes' visit with a daring attack on an enemy outpost near Vermundsjøen, but otherwise

both parties stayed quiet for more than a week, and the Norwegians used the opportunity to construct several barricades on both sides of the river.

The narrow valley between Kjelsåsen and Buttaråsen was blocked with huge stacks of timber – and this proved to have been a very critical precaution.

On the 24th of April Gahn finally decided to begin the march down the Flisa River to Kongsvinger. The Swedish colonel probably did not have much hope that this adventurous mission would succeed – but Armfeldt's orders had to be obeyed, and he left Medskogen at 11 o'clock in the evening with 500 men.



The Swedes had learned from Cederström's reconnaissance that Staffeldt's main force stood on the north side of the river. They therefore now chose to advance on the south side even though this path was much more rugged and difficult to traverse. After marching for 6 hours the vanguard bumped into a Norwegian outpost under Lieutenant Westby, who soon realized that he had the whole Swedish corps in front of him and retreated back to Rønnesåter. From here he sent an urgent message to von Staffeldt, who was staying at the farm Bjørneby.

The troops were hastily called to arms and Captain Nægler was ordered to occupy the barricade at Trangen with two companies of Trondhjem grenadiers. Staffeldt himself went up to Nyen, and the several detachments in the area were ordered to assemble here, since he believed the enemy would follow the same route they had used earlier. However, around 11 o'clock the Swedish columns were spotted on the opposite side of the river. There was no time to waste, and

Major Ræder was ordered to cross the ice-covered river with 3 companies of Trondhjem grenadiers and the Elverum ski patrol company under Stabell.

Staffeldt himself remained at Nyen with the Lærdal infantry company. He may have assumed that Colonel Gahn had sent a large reconnaissance detachment down along the north bank, since otherwise it was hard to believe that the Swedes would march so nonchalantly down to Trangen.

The Norwegian grenadiers and ski troops did not take long crossing the river. Gahn had just entered the valley between Kjelsåsen and Buttaråsen when the Norwegians attacked in his rear. The colonel immediately turned his troops about and tried to break through the Norwegian ranks. The Swedes charged their opponents with their bayonets and succeeded in forcing them back a little, but then Captain Nægler abandoned his position at the barricade by Trangen and moved to support his comrades.

Gahn now had to face two fronts, and the battle continued with exceptional ferocity. Both Swedes and Norwegians showed examples of remarkable bravery. Captain Nicolai Dreyer, commander of the Sunndal Company, especially distinguished himself. He stood in front of his firing line and placed his musket on a tree stump. From here he sent ball after ball at the enemy. The sharpshooter soon attracted their attention, and Swedish bullets sang around his ears. He was wounded in the left hand, but continued to shoot until he fell unconscious behind the tree stump pierced by 6 bullets. The brave captain was carried off the field, and his soldiers exerted themselves to the uttermost to avenge him.¹

The battle raged for two hours without either side being able to claim victory. The Swedes could not manage to break through, but had no thought of giving up.

Gahn sought to escape and sent Captain Knorring with 60 men up the forest-clad slope of Buttaråsen. He intended for this small detachment to attack Ræder and Stabell's left flank while Gahn himself stormed the Norwegian ranks with his main force. However, Knorring made too long a detour and wandered astray in the woods – and that was lucky for him, since meanwhile Gahn was attacked in the right flank himself by a new enemy – the Norwegian ski troops under Captain Sven Arntzen.

They were all the way up by Gjersåssjøen when orders came from Staffeldt to join him at Nyen, but when Arntzen's men neared the farm Sønsterud, they heard the din of heavy gunfire, and this music was irresistible for the brave ski troopers.

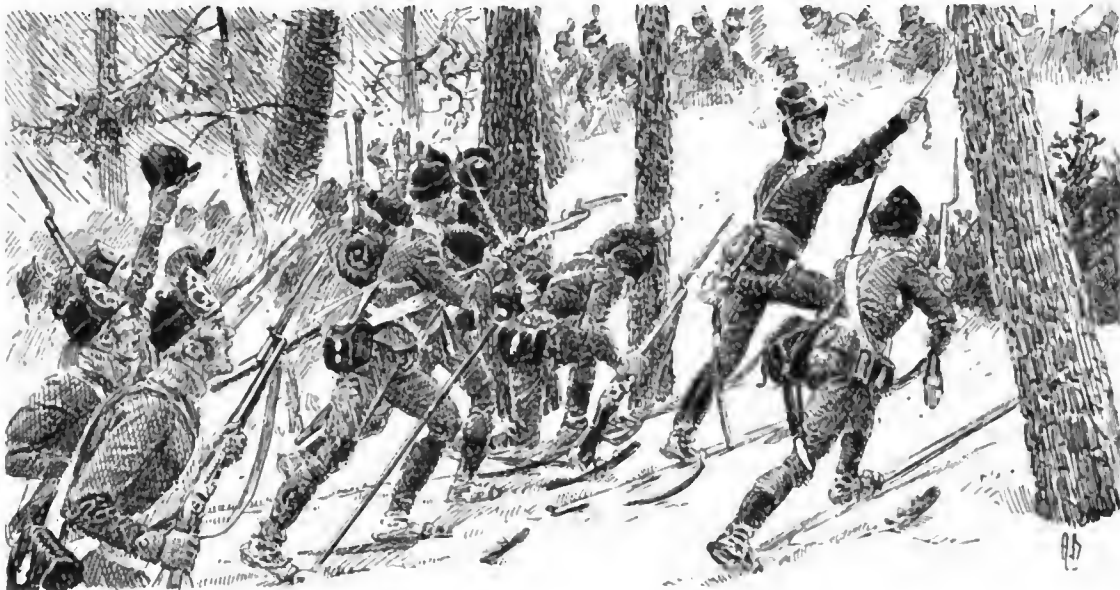
¹ The legend actually says that he jumped up on a tree stump and stood there firing muskets that his soldiers loaded and handed up to him until he fell down with 7 enemy balls in him.



CAPTAIN NÆGLER ADVANCES.

They ran down toward the river, crossed on the ice, up over the forest-clad ridge, and charged into the scrum of battle with fresh energy.

The Swedish corps was then surrounded by 800 Norwegians, and Gahn had no other choice but to surrender. However, many of the Norwegian soldiers had not been taught about the signal of surrender and continued to fight until some officers ran up in front of the lines and stopped the shooting, risking their own lives.



CAPTAIN ARNTZEN AND THE HOFF SKI TROOPERS CHARGE INTO THE BATTLE.

During this confusion Colonel Gahn tried to escape being taken prisoner by escaping into the woods, but it did not succeed. He had to share fate with the Captains Godée, Eggers, and Fahnehielm, Lieutenants Udd, Örn, von Ehrenheim, von Kothén, Ahlsted, Engeström, and Halldin, a battalion surgeon, a regimental quartermaster, Chaplain Sevdelius, and 382 non-commissioned officers and privates.

The Swedes had 25 dead and 57 wounded; the Norwegians 15 and 52. The loss of life thus was relatively minor after such a long and intense fight. This was probably because the entire battle was fought in dense woods.

The fallen were buried together in a common grave a couple of days later in the Åsnes cemetery with a solemn ceremony.

Colonel Gahn had left Major Söderhielm at Medskogen to guard the corps' baggage and provisions, which the Swedes had left behind and only carried the bare necessities with them in order to march to Kongsvinger as quickly as possible. When Colonel von Staffeldt arrived at Trangen after the battle, he ordered Captain Nægler to pay Söderhielm a visit before he could hear about the defeat of the Swedish main force.

This task was carried out with amazing dispatch. Already at 10 o'clock that evening Medskogen was surrounded by a detachment of Trondhjem grenadiers, Elverum ski troops, and Lærdal light infantry. The Swedes were so surprised that they surrendered without firing a shot. Late in the night Captain Nægler returned to Staffeldt's headquarters with Major Söderhielm, 3 non-commissioned officers, 45 privates, and 2 cannon plus Gahn's baggage and provisions.

The flying corps thus was now just history, and when Christian August received report of the victory, he ordered the Staffeldt brigade to march down to Kongsvinger.




MONUMENT ERECTED IN 1899 OVER
THE COMMON GRAVE IN ÅSNES
CEMETERY.

Antzen Stahl Grader Nægler

A few days after the Battle at Trangen the left wing of the Western Army was finally ready to advance across the Norwegian border together with Cronstedt's brigade, but though this army corps numbered more than 6,000 men, the Swedes could not make any headway.

Southeastern Norway was almost devoid of real soldiers, but the home guard and burghers of Frederikshald again showed that they would keep up their proud traditions from the days of Carl Gustaf and Carl XII.

When the war broke out, the citizens of Frederikshald had established a volunteer corps named "Christian August's *Jægere*" commanded by Captain of Volunteers Dines Mamen. A second corps was formed by the workers at the Tistedal sawmill and commanded by the merchant Christian Selmer and customs supervisor Hans Stang. 

In the month of May there was incessant skirmishing between the frontline troops across the whole line from Kongsvinger to Enningdalen, and the Swedes usually got the worst of it. An enemy position under Baron Ulfsparre was overrun on the 25th of May by Captain Jürgensen's famous Lærdal light infantry unit and a detachment of Aamodt ski troops on the farm Jerpset near Matrand. The whole Swedish force had to surrender after a dogged and bloody resistance.



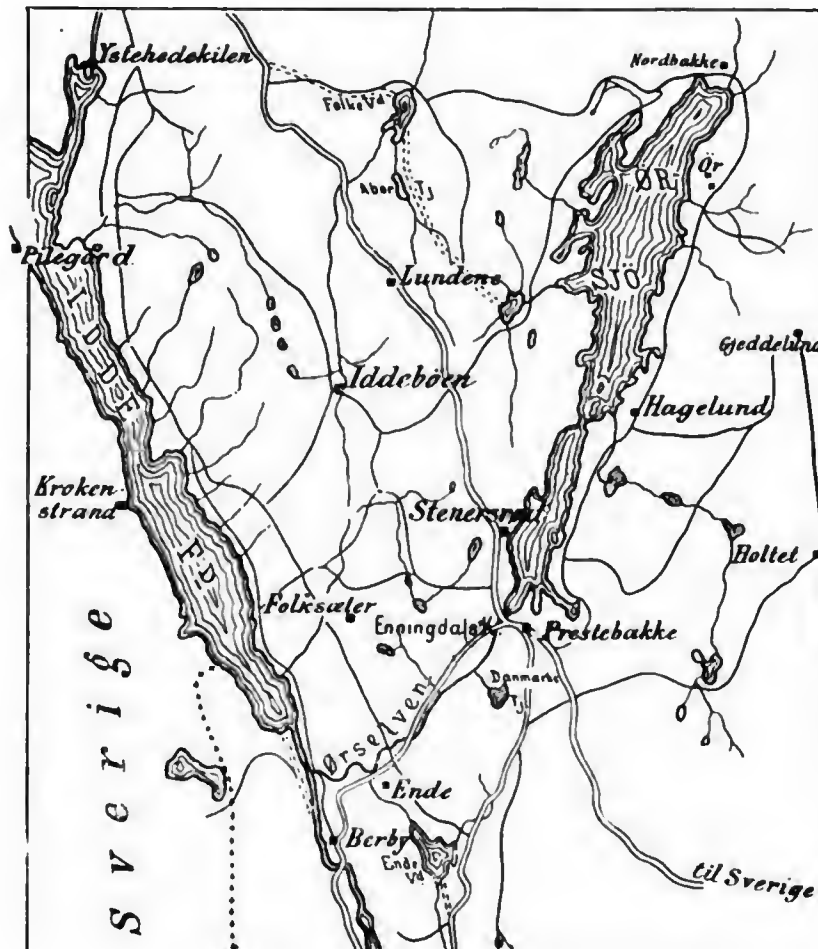
It was Christian August's intention to take the offensive with all he had as soon as the snow had melted and the roads became passable. In late May the brigade commanders got orders to get their troops ready. The attack was to begin simultaneously across the whole front on the 10th of June – but when the day came, the situation had changed substantially.

That the Western Army remained standing at the border and let itself be torn up piecemeal was of course a great disappointment for the Swedish king. He lost all enthusiasm for Norwegian "conquests," and when the British General John Moore arrived in Gothenburg on the 18th of May with an army of 10,000 men, Armfeldt was ordered to withdraw his troops from the Norwegian border, since Gustaf Adolf now thought it might be more profitable to use a part of the Western Army to invade Zealand together with the British!

It was indeed a nice plan – if it could be carried out. General Moore was not enthusiastic about employing his troops in so uncertain a venture. The practical Brit also soon realized that the Swedish king was not fully *compos mentis*, and since they could not agree on how the British force was to be deployed, Moore had a good pretext for leaving the area with his troops.

Meanwhile, Armfeldt had carried out his king's command. The right wing's 4 brigades returned to Morast, Eda, Töcksmark, and Budalsviken. These movements were so unexpected that Christian August did not have time to provide escorts for the unwelcome guests on their way out.

The left wing, however, was slower to get moving. On the 9th of June the 1st brigade still stood in Enningdalen – but the next day a third of this force became prisoners of war.



According to Christian August's plan of attack, the commandant in Frederiksstens Fortress, Lieutenant Colonel Juul, had been ordered to "break the center of the enemy's forces in Enningdalen and then, if possible, force them back across the border."

This was not an easy mission, since the Swedish brigade numbered around 1,400 men and had constructed strong fortifications between Prestebakke and Berby, but the elderly Juul immediately began working out a detailed plan of attack, and by drawing in outposts he managed to assemble a force of 686 soldiers of the Southern Regiment. In addition 80 armed farmers and 110 men of the volunteer corps joined up. Since Juul was not in good health, he turned the command of this motley force over to Captain Arild Huitfeldt. It was decided that Lieutenant Paul Magnussen should lead a detachment down Iddefjorden and make a diversionary attack on the enemy troops at Berby, while Huitfeldt attacked the Swedish fortifications at Prestebakke with the main force.

At 9:30 in the evening of June 9th Magnussen left Ystehedekilen with 8 armed longboats and 106 men. According to plan the detachment should begin the attack on Berby at 1 o'clock, but since it was a short distance, Magnussen thought that he ought to use the opportunity to search for some Swedish boats carrying provisions that had been observed earlier in the day. They looked in at Pilegård and Krokenstrand, but did not find them, and when the flotilla met a strong headwind, it did not reach the bottom of Iddefjorden until 3 o'clock.

There they were met by an enemy post with two cannon on shore. After having exchanged a few shots, Magnussen wanted to make an attempt to capture the whole post, but now the Swedish troops at Berby had been alerted, and while

Magnussen

Magnussen was setting his soldiers ashore he saw the enemy streaming down to the beach. But – then a signal was heard, and to the Norwegians' great astonishment, the Swedes suddenly made about face and retreated on the double quick. The shore post also drove off and in such a hurry that one of their cannon fell off its carriage.

They had received an urgent message that a superior Norwegian force was advancing to attack at Prestebakke. The senior *aide-de-camp* for the Western Army's left flank, Major Georg Adlersparre, who commanded at Berby, first would send his troops up to Prestebakke, but then reconsidered. It was not known how large a force the Norwegian flotilla down on Iddefjorden carried with it. They might cut off the Swedes route of retreat, if that should become necessary. He therefore remained standing at Berby – and thus Huitfeldt was able to carry out *his* part of the operation under very advantageous conditions.

In the afternoon he had sent 1st Lieutenant Hans Tambs to Nordbakke with 540 men, and a little later Huitfeldt marched down to Iddebøen and Lundene with

the rest of his troops. Tambs was to march down along the eastern shore of Ørsjøen and attack in the enemy's rear, while Huitfeldt attacked their position at Prestebakke in front.

Tambs' main force split in two at Nordbakke. Tambs marched one column down across Ør and Hagelund. The other under 1st Lieutenant Johan Spørck marched by way of Gjeddellund and Holtet in order to see if the Swedes still had any troops in these areas. However, Spørck did not come across a single outpost. For safety's sake, 50 men were still left at Gjeddellund and 40 men at Kobberlund.

Meanwhile Huitfeldt had also begun his advance on Prestebakke. Lieutenant Paul Birch and 40 men were sent ahead to make a surprise attack on a Swedish outpost at Stenersrød and Lieutenant Christian Heide marched off with 60 men to Folkesæter for the same purpose.

Both Swedish outposts surrendered without offering significant resistance, and since the enemy had no other guards out on the west side of Ørsjøen, Huitfeldt could now continue his march without the enemy being alerted.

Lieutenant Colonel Baron von Knorring lay at Prestebakke with about 450 men of the Skaraborg and Älvsborg Regiments. The level of the Ør River had been raised by the construction of a small dam in order to make fording it more difficult, and the Swedes had built a redoubt equipped with 2 cannon protecting the bridge crossing. They had also cut down the forest before the bridge and laid the trees crosswise over each other to block the approach. The attack would thus be a difficult enterprise.



ARILD HUITFELDT.

Huitfeldt waited a long time to hear the agreed signal shot from Magnussen, but as mentioned above, the lieutenant could not begin his attack on Berby until about 3 o'clock, and Huitfeldt's troops therefore had to suffer in patience.

At 3½ o'clock another signal was heard. It was Tambs, who made known his arrival together with Spørck's column. The surprised Swedes, who thought they were attacked from behind, took the cannon out of the redoubt at the bridge and turned them against Tambs.

The attack in front thus became a lot easier, and that was a good thing as Huitfeldt now only had 170 men under his command, since Lieutenant Heide had been sent down to Ende to block a possible advance by the Swedes from Berby.



OVER THE FELLED TREES AT PRESTEBAKKE.

With fixed bayonets and cries of hurrah, Huitffldt's impatient soldiers charged over the felled trees before the bridge with Lieutenant Birch leading the charge. The 19 year old Lieutenant Sæter and a brave farmer, who had volunteered as a guide, were fatally wounded, but there was no time to mourn them – the brave ones would be avenged, and as madmen the Norwegians stormed across the dam toward the bridge. Since the cannon were pointing the other way, the bridge was crossed without further losses.

Then they charged the redoubt. In a moment they were up on the ramparts and a bitter hand to hand fight ensued – but when Tambs and Spørck joined in from the other side, the Swedes gave up all resistance

Knorring tried to force his way out, but did not make it. Lieutenant Heide blocked his way, and he had to surrender his sword. Lieutenant Elfmann suffered the same fate. He had gathered 150 men about him and tried to drive away with the cannon, but Heide also stopped this group, and when Birch and Spørck came up behind him, Elfmann also had to lay down his weapons.

The rest of the Swedes had gone into the Enningdal church and barricaded the doors. They intended to continue shooting from the windows, but reconsidered when Huitfeldt's troops surrounded the church. One of their officers appeared in the church doorway and waved a white handkerchief to signify surrender.

According to the written agreement, all forces under Lieutenant Colonel Knorring's command were included in the capitulation. Huitfeldt therefore assumed this also meant the Swedish troops at Berby, and sent Lieutenant Spørck to Berby to accept their surrender. However, Georg Adlersparre – who soon was to play an important role in Swedish political history – would not admit that he had been under Knorring's command, and with some justification, since he had arrived at Berby the day before and had assumed command as senior *aide-de-camp* attached to the left flank of the Western Army.



GEORG ADLERSPARRE.

Since Adlersparre's troops outnumbered the Norwegians, and they also had to guard the large number of prisoners, Huitfeldt realized that he had to be content with what he had already won.

So that the prisoners and wounded could be transported to Frederikshald, Huitfeldt also agreed to the following arrangement:

As Lieutenant Colonel Baron von Knorring has surrendered with his forces at Prestebakke to the royal Norwegian nation's arms and by a reasonable misunderstanding of the language has included Berby with its detachments, which, however, do not stand under his command, in order

to effectuate the conditions of the capitulation document agreed by Lieutenant Colonel Knorring regarding the transport of prisoners and wounded by the sea route, and for providing them better treatment, an armistice is hereby concluded, with 4 hours warning of cancellation from the Norwegian side, under which the Norwegian troops cannot advance, but stand in their present positions and the royal Swedish in their present positions. The Berby (Öra) River and Iddefjorden will be the ceasefire line between the two armies. If the Norwegian forces elsewhere have won further advantages, they shall retreat to where they stood at 10 o'clock in the morning of the 10th instant.

W. Westfeldt *Georg Adlersparre*

Adlersparre took full advantage of this ceasefire. As might be expected, he saw the defeat at Prestebakke as an ugly stain on the Swedish military record. It had to be washed off, and an urgent summon was sent for the Westmannland Regiment and Helsing and Jämtland battalions, which stood near the border, and these forces then moved into Enningdalen.

However, when Adlersparre terminated the ceasefire on the 14th of June, only a very small Norwegian contingent was left at Prestebakke.

It also was soon rumored that Prince Christian August was marching down with Holst's brigade, and since the Swedes did not want to wait for his arrival, they retreated as fast as possible back to Sweden.

By the 24th of June there were no enemy troops left within the boundaries of Norway.

Lieutenant Colonel Juul summarized the results of the victory in his report to Christian August:

"Prisoners, captured officers: Lieutenant Colonel Knorring, the Captains Strömbom, Osengius, and Palmkranz; the Lieutenants Natt-och-dag, Elfmann, Lillie, Wirgén, Silfversparre, Hachwitz, Westfeldt, Debesche, and Count Lewenhaupt; Master sergeants: Bergén, Hulting, Axelberg, Hachwitz, Schiole, von Gerdten, and Eckmann; Sergeants: Hansson, Keppe, Meyer, Österdahl, Segerdahl, and Hoff.

Captured soldiers	334 men.
Wounded	34 "
Dead and buried	60 "
Captured officers, master sergeants, and <u>sergeants</u>	<u>27 "</u>
Total: 445 men.	

Our losses were the bright and promising Lieutenant von Sæter, Corporal Trane, 3 dead soldiers and 6 wounded."

Lodvin *Jon* *Blamb's*

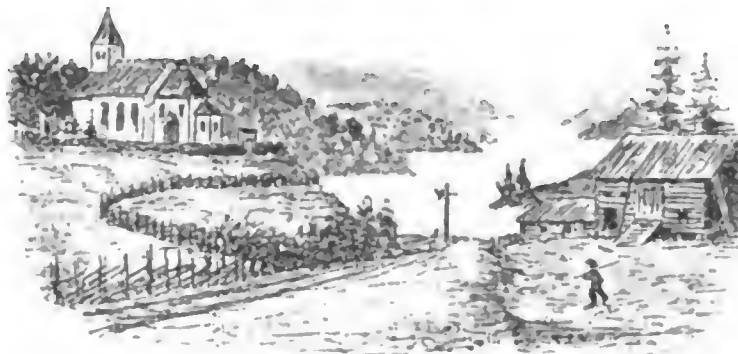
Prince Christian August's verdict on the affair at Prestebakke was: "I may venture to insist that this expedition has few that can be compared with it with regard to daring, execution, outstanding bravery, and conduct."

In its two months border campaign the Swedish "Army of Conquest" had lost 40 officers, 2,030 non-commissioned officers and privates besides a great deal of artillery and other war booty.

The Norwegian losses only came to 485 men.

No wonder that the exuberance ran high. The gallant soldiers, who in their ragged uniforms had shown so many examples of persistence and bravery, also got material corroboration of the Norwegian people's gratitude. The times were difficult, but the newspaper *Budstikken* edited by Enevold Falsen published several columns listing donations received for the victorious defenders of the homeland.

The Swedish prisoners of war also benefitted from the Norwegian people's generosity. They were treated as the nation's guests.



PRESTEBAKKE



PRINCE CHRISTIAN AUGUST'S MONUMENT ON THE BYGDØ ROYAL ESTATE.

Chapter Seventeen

EPILOGUE.

When the British withdrew their military assistance force from Sweden, Gustaf IV Adolf had to give up his plan to invade Zealand, and almost all of Finland had meanwhile been occupied by the Russians.

But instead of sending all available troops to reinforce the Finnish army, the Swedish king again took up his plans to conquer Norway. The Western Army was increased to 21,000 men, and Armfeldt had to turn his command over to the president of the War College, Lieutenant General Cederström. However, the new commander in chief accomplished even less than his predecessor. The Swedish and Norwegian troops remained standing for several months on their respective sides of the border, and the war reduced itself to mutual random skirmishes – which were mostly engaged in to gratify the warlike impulses of the ruling princes.

Above all, the Norwegian and Swedish people both wanted peace. They no longer wished to fight for crazy political reasons. They felt their duty as loyal citizens must have a limit, and thus it awoke general joy in both kingdoms when Prince Christian August and Lieutenant General Cederström concluded a ceasefire on the 7th of December 1808 without first seeking permission from the absolute monarchs.

King Frederik was not greatly pleased with the prince's highhanded behavior, but he realized that for the time being it was best to bow to public opinion.

Gustaf Adolf also saw himself obliged to respect the arrangement agreed upon, and he was soon obliged to concede even more – to relinquish the throne.

Since before the year was out, the Swedes had to leave all of Finland, the deeply humiliated warrior nation needed a scapegoat, and there could not be a more suitable offering than Gustav IV Adolf!

A wide conspiracy formed between the highest military officers and other patriotic minded citizens, but it was difficult to agree on the means and for a long time it looked like the contemplated throne revolution was going to run out in the sand. It was then that the Norwegian commander in chief gave Sweden "the greatest service it has of yet received from a foreigner."



GUSTAF IV ADOLF OF SWEDEN.

Georg Adlersparre, who had now become a lieutenant colonel and the senior *aide-de-camp* in the Western Army, had decided to carry out the *coup d'état* himself. When Cederström was absent – and this occurred often during the ceasefire – Adlersparre usually held the command. He intended to take advantage of this to lead the troops to Stockholm. However, the ceasefire could be terminated by either party with only a few days notice, and when this time expired the Norwegians might make use of the opportunity to invade and occupy the Swedish border regions if the Swedish troops were removed. This fear was well grounded. In January the Norwegian army only had enough bread for a couple of months. Prince Christian August therefore thought he would have to move into Sweden

before his provisions gave out. All Swedish historians agree that if the Norwegian army had crossed the border at this time, the Western Army in its then condition could hardly have prevented Christian August from marching to Stockholm. Our brothers on the other side of Kjølen¹ should not forget this!

In order to forestall the invasion by the Norwegian army, Adlersparre sent his confidant, Baron C.H. Anckarswärd to Norway to negotiate an extended armistice. Anckarswärd was not permitted to travel to Christiania, where the prince was staying, but he was received at Kongsvinger by Major General von Staffeldt on the 8th of March. The baron described his nation's condition in dark terms and suggested that the deposition of Gustaf Adolf would be synonymous with re-establishment of peace in Scandinavia. It should thus be of great interest for the Norwegians that the ceasefire be extended.

Von Staffeldt immediately sent Major Stabell to Christiania to present the case to Christian August. After having consulted with his colleagues in the government, the prince gave a firm promise on behalf of the nation that the Norwegian troops would remain standing quietly on their side of the border.

Adlersparre could then proceed with his historic march.

However, just the rumor of the Western Army's approach was enough to bring down Gustaf Adolf's absolute monarchy. When Adlersparre and his troops joyfully greeted by the citizens entered Stockholm on the 22nd of March, General Adlerkreutz and some other officers had already arrested the king and declared his uncle, Duke Carl of Södermannland, as regent, but Adlersparre still came to play a leading role. It was he who called the hurriedly assembled parliament's attention to Prince Christian August when a new heir to the throne was to be chosen, since the regent, who was elected king, was childless.

Adlersparre knew quite well that the recent events had shook the Danish-Norwegian union to its foundation, and since the Norwegians' enthusiasm for Christian August seemed boundless, Adlersparre hoped *that the prince's election as heir apparent to the throne would lead to a union between Sweden and Norway*. Or as the Swedish statesman expressed it: "He, who has the heart of a nation, also possesses its body."

On the 18th of July Prince Christian August was unanimously elected heir apparent to the throne.

¹ "The Keel" – the mountain chain separating Norway and Sweden.

The Norwegian general in chief now was in a very difficult position, since a few days earlier he had received a sharp request from King Frederik to terminate the ceasefire and take possession of Båhuslän, Carlstad, Venersborg, and Gothenburg.

Christian August had received similar requests at least a dozen times before, but as he well knew, an attack on Sweden would make him impossible as a Swedish crown prince. This was probably also the king's intent, *since Frederik himself had hopes of becoming Carl XIII's successor*. This hope was not unfounded. Reestablishing the Union of Kalmar was seen by many as Scandinavia's only hope for a successful future, and if Frederik VI's wits had been as well developed as his self-regard, he doubtlessly could have succeeded in setting Erik of Pomerania's triple-crown on his head.

Christian August had also consistently recommended the Swedish revolutionaries to select King Frederik as heir apparent rather than himself. The king probably had little faith in the prince's self-abnegation, but he still found it politically wise to reward such faithfulness, and promoted Christian August to field marshal rank and appointed him viceroy in Norway – a couple of days before he received word of the prince's election as heir apparent to the Swedish throne.

However, Christian August would not accept the election until there was peace between the nations. Nor did he see it proper to advocate a union between Norway and Sweden, but his supporters worked just so much more enthusiastically for this objective.



Already in the past century many prominent patriots headed by Norway's leading businessman and patron of the arts, Bernt Anker, had taken a strong interest in dissolving the unnatural union with Denmark-Holstein and joining with Sweden. They even made connections with likeminded people in Sweden, which caused considerable anxiety in Danish governmental circles, but it was only during the last war that the Swedish-Norwegian union party got the wind behind them.

Adlersparre's hops for Christian August's election as heir apparent to the Swedish throne thus were not entirely unjustified, and through correspondence with Count Wedel-Jarlsberg, who from now on acted as leader of the party, his hopes were strengthened further. Thus Wedel-Jarlsberg wrote in a letter dated 15 August 1809: "I am convinced that in a few weeks our common concerns will develop such that the great objective is achieved, as everyone, not too narrow-mindedly Swedish or Norwegian, looks forward to."

Adlersparre replied to this a couple of days later with a longer communication wherein he, in his distinctive manner, described in strong and vivid terms the international position of the northern countries and the advantages for Sweden and Norway in ending their existing purposeless quarrels and joining forces under the same scepter – held in Christian August's hand.

Count Wedel-Jarlsberg replied: "... Certainly I and many of my bolder fellow countrymen *completely agree with you*, that nothing can or must prevent the achievement of our great objective ..."

But it was prevented – regrettably, we may say, since it is our opinion that a union under Christian August's scepter after an honorable and victorious war in several respects would have been more desirable than the union that was put together in 1814. The great national development that occurred in the intervening period would have happened anyway, since in 1809 the sense of national identity among the Norwegian people had grown so strong that its further development could not be stopped.

It was King Frederik himself, who put a stop to the plans for a Swedish-Norwegian union. When he became aware of the hopes surrounding Prince Christian August's person, he had sufficient sense to understand that there was not a moment to lose. Instead of as earlier demanding surrender of several Swedish regions in the peace settlement, he offered Sweden peace on condition that all should be as before the war.

The Swedes probably would have liked to wait a little and see if the Norwegians would terminate their oath of fealty to King Frederik, but when there was no visible movement in that direction, peace negotiations began, and the Treaty of Jönköping was concluded on the 10th of December 1809.

Now there was nothing to stop Christian August from accepting his election as heir apparent to the Swedish throne, and a few days later he handed his offices as viceroy in Norway and field marshal in the Norwegian army over to the king's brother-in-law, Prince Friedrich von Hessen.



THE GOVERNING COMMISSION'S SEAL.

Several welcome signs of a heightened sense of national identity appeared even before he left Christiania. The national demands, which were presented in quite forceful terms during the so-called Freedom of the Press period 1770-72, now again appeared in the Norwegian press despite the strict censorship. Thus the Christiania newspaper "*Tiden*" for December 9th printed an article headed: "About Norway's Sacred and Justified Desires," which attracted much attention. It repeated with sharp expressions the demand for a bank in Christiania "to prevent the nation's marrow being exported to fatten foreigners" and also the demand for a Norwegian university "so that the nation's youth no longer should be under foreign tutelage."

The governing circles in Copenhagen wanted the Union king to punish the author – Pastor Peder Hount – but when there shortly followed a declaration by the most respected merchants of Christiania and Frederikshald which stated "that it is beyond all doubt that the author's just and reasonable desire for the establishment of a national bank in Norway was not only his, but that of the whole nation,

and even the regent, when this important matter was most graciously presented to him," the king found it best to just "let the matter drop."

The founding of "*Selskabet for Norges Vel*" ["Society for Norway's Welfare"] caused even more of a stir. It was done on the occasion of the great farewell fête that the burghers of Christiania gave Prince Christian August on the 29th of December.

Count Wedel, who must be considered the real founder of the society, could not have chosen a more auspicious moment. Sadness and exuberance went hand in hand at the fête for the departing noble prince. Everyone who could wanted to participate in this patriotic endeavor tied to the memory of Prince Christian August, since the society's objectives could be seen as a continuation of his interrupted efforts on Norway's behalf.

According to the invitation, which was directed to "Norwegian patriots and brothers," it was to not limit itself to any particular field, but include every economic as well as literary subject, not limit itself to any specific area, but extend beyond Norway to the most remote regions."

Despite its loyal trappings, the invitation gave expression to a sharp critique of the Oldenburg misrule. The whole document breathes of Norwegian patriotism – not Danish-Holsteinian-Norwegian. The trisected patriotism, which so many union-blinded Norwegians for so many years had been inspired with, seemed now to have quite dissipated. The invitation named Norway, and *Norway only*, as the Norwegian homeland. It stated:

"Norway, our old, proud land of mountains, shall rise again with renewed luster. Norway's honor and respect shall be first in the minds of the sons of Norway and their prime objective. Then the stormy weather (the war) shall be forgotten, its traces wiped out, and even these, as they diminish, shall bring respect and honor to our beloved homeland. Then every Norwegian may say with pride: That storm occurred, but the sons of Norway stood with the steadfast strength of heroes; that storm is gone, leaving unhappy memories, but the sons of Norway lived and worked with united strength for the suffering, but re-born homeland."

More than half of the 300 burghers from Christiania and surrounding towns who attended the fête signed up as members of the society that same evening, and before the end of the following year, the number had grown to 2,000.

The prince of Hessen had sufficient integrity to let his name appear at the head of the invitation, though he knew very well that this would not be well received.

King Frederik surely would have liked to order the society to disband, since he probably could read between the lines what its founders had in mind, but the times had changed. His autocratic language no longer resonated among the mountains of Norway. This had become apparent during the war and Frederik therefore chose to let himself be named the society's "protector" in the hope that he in this capacity might be able to put a damper on its activities.

On the 4th of January the prince left Christiania, saluted from Akershus, and accompanied by a large crowd of people who would demonstrate their affection for their adored prince with a last honor. All along his route he was received with festive demonstrations.

"Never were fêtes given," wrote Jacob Aall, "where genuine esteem and love united with the tribute usually paid to kings and princes, more than at these."

But the ruling mood at the galas was sorrow at the thought of separation. No one, however, seemed to give a thought to that *this could be avoided by proclaiming Prince Christian August king of Norway.*

One man had expected more to come of the general enthusiasm for Christian August, and that man was Count Wedel. "He would gladly have followed the prince to Svinesund with the Norwegian crown in his hand in order to join with him in the great, but dangerous, venture of inflaming the people's national feeling and awakening them to a forceful deed, whether it would lead to victory or defeat," wrote his biographer.



Frederik Wilhelmsen



MEDALS AWARDED BY THE SOCIETY FOR NORWAY'S WELFARE.



THE BRITISH BRIG "ALLART" CAPTURED BY NORWEGIAN GUNBOATS.

Chapter Eighteen

THE NAVAL WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

A union with Sweden under Christian August's scepter must naturally have lead to peace with Great Britain. The Norwegian people would have avoided a lengthy war, which in so many respects came to undermine the nation's prosperity and powers of self-determination.

Something more unnatural than this war with the world's largest sea power can hardly be thought of. When the British expropriated the Danish-Norwegian fleet, they removed all reasons for another attack. To continue the fight was therefore against the interests and inclinations of either the British or the Norwegian nation. The so-called "Licensed Commerce" was an excellent example of this.

Before the war the Norwegians had purchased their needed imported goods in England and in return supplied most of the British needs for lumber. When King Frederik in accordance with his treaty with Napoleon prohibited all trade with Britain and its allies, he thus put his Norwegian subjects as well as the enemy in a bind. However, the British government solved the problem by offering to issue the Norwegians licenses, or letters of free passage, that gave Norwegian ships access to British harbors without being molested by the British navy.

The "high-principled" Frederik certainly thought this dodge highly improper, but when the Norwegian merchants pressed him from all sides, he reluctantly gave the necessary consent in July 1809, and now an exceptionally lively commercial activity ensued.

Jacob Aall, one of the largest merchants, wrote regarding this: "The chains binding the economy were then broken. In all the harbors of Norway lay more ships laden with lumber, chartered under advantageous terms, than had ever been seen in this country before, and the freed up activity brought life to all of Norway's west coast and cheer to its inhabitants. In the first days of September a bracing wind from northwest arose, and this author's soul swelled with gratitude to Providence on seeing the multitude of billowing sails gliding out the Christiania Fjord, laden with riches that would bring succor for the country's sufferings and relief to the poor classes. After two long years the North Sea once more saw our proud ships sailing to England, surrounded by enemy warships under continued wartime conditions, shielded from harm by a piece of paper."

It was under these conditions that the Norwegian people were expected to assist King Frederik and his boneheaded councilors in their retaliatory war against Great Britain. Of course there was neither time nor money available to create a new sea-going fleet that could take up the fight on the open ocean. The immediate problem was to provide a coastal defense to protect the local shipping, and for this purpose an industry developed that did not lag behind the licensed commerce in energy.

Small war vessels were constructed in all the coastal towns. They were schooners armed with 2 cannon and 1 small howitzer, longboats with hatch decks and armed with 2 cannon, and jollyboats with decks and 1 cannon. There were also a lot of small armed commercial vessels that were largely used as privateers.



NORWEGIAN COASTAL
DEFENSE SEAL

Wealthy burghers overbid each other in offering donations, and under the energetic leadership of Lorentz Fisker, Norway soon got a coastal defense that the British learned to respect.

This was a merry time for all unfettered Norwegian sailors. It was as if the old Viking spirit had awakened again. The innumerable tales from "The War" almost sound like fables, and that they *were* – the most reckless and daring in our naval history.

One must almost be a sailor to understand the moral strength and brilliant bravery that was shown by the crews on the small gunboats while battling the enemy's great ships of war.



THE BATTLE BETWEEN "TARTAR" AND 5 GUNBOATS NEAR BJORØYNA.

One of the first encounters occurred in the approach passage to Bergen down by Bjorøyna. The British 32 gun frigate "Tartar" tried to capture some Dutch ships that had sought refuge in Bergen's harbor, but "Tartar" ran into a schooner and 4 jollyboats of the coastal defense navy commanded by 1st Lieutenant Johan Bjelke near Bjorøyna. Cannon fire from the Norwegians killed Captain Bettsworth of the "Tartar" and a midshipman, Henry FitzHugh, early in the action. A further twelve men were wounded before "Tartar" was able to complete her withdrawal. The Norwegians lost four men and a gunboat.

The 14 gun brig "*Childers*" had no better luck. It fought a battle with the Norwegian brig "*Lougen*" near Hydra and was damaged so badly it barely made it back to Leith with a couple of meters of water in the hold.

The 18 gun brig "*Lougen*," commanded by 1st Lieutenant Peder Wulff, was the only seagoing warship the Norwegians had. In June they got one more. On the 19th the 16 gun brig "*Seagull*" was captured outside Flekkerøya. Her captain, Commander Cathcart, pursued "*Lougen*" thinking it was merchant vessel. The chase brought them close to land, and "*Seagull*" tried to get between "*Lougen*" and the shore to prevent her from reaching Christianssand. Unfortunately for Captain Cathcart, about 20 minutes into the engagement, 4 longboats commanded by Lieutenant Jørgen Føns appeared from behind some cliffs, and took up positions on "*Seagull's*" quarter and fired on her with their 24-pounder guns while "*Lougen*" fired on her port bow. Within half an hour the Norwegian fire had badly damaged "*Seagull's*" rigging and dismounted five of her guns, and Cathcart, who was himself severely wounded, had to strike his flag. The brig had more than 5 feet of water in its hold and was towed into Fosseholmsundet, where it sank.



THE BRIG "*SEAGULL*" BEING TOWED IN TO FOSSEHOLMSUNDET.

However, "*Seagull*" was soon raised up again, refitted, and sent out to sea under 1st Lieutenant O.C. Budde, and in November it captured the Swedish naval cutter "*Gripen*."

In 1809 the Norwegians had the satisfaction of re-capturing the brig "*Allart*," which had been turned over to the British when Copenhagen capitulated. On the 10th of August it appeared outside Frederiksværn, where Commander Søren Bille commanded a flotilla of 6 longboats and 2 jollyboats. The boats at once rowed out to the brig, which received them with one broadside after the other, but due to the heavy swells none of them was hit. The cannonade continued for a whole hour with no significant results. Bille then led his gunboats close in to the brig, and a well-directed shot brought down the main topmast, which soon caused Commander James Tillard to strike his flag. "*Allart*" carried 18 guns and was a very valuable addition to the coastal defense fleet.



JOHAN BJELKE



JOCHUM N. MÜLLER

In January 1810 the brigs "*Samsøe*," "*Kiel*," "*Alsen*," and "*Langeland*" came up to Norway. Lorentz Fisker then decided he could afford to split up his small fleet of sea-going vessels. "*Lougen*" and "*Langeland*" and 3 three armed schooners were sent on a cruise north to Hammerfest under Commander Jochum Nicolai Müller – one of the heroes of "Maundy Thursday." He was to drive off three enemy brigs that had harassed the fisheries and behaved like common pirates. The squadron accomplished this mission, and the little flotilla returned to Bergen in the late fall, bringing with it a dozen captured enemy merchant ships.

Meanwhile the other brigs were cruising in Skagerak. On the 12th of May Captain Johannes Krieger lay outside Mandal with the brigs "*Samsøe*" and "*Alsen*" when the enemy 36 gun frigate "*Tribune*" came driving by and fired its starboard broadside in passing. "*Samsøe*" and "*Alsen*" steered toward land to get help, since the Mandal gunboat division had been observed in among the islands, but in the lead in to Kleven they were met by the brigs "*Seagull*" and "*Allart*" commanded by 1st Lieutenant Budde coming out to meet them. Krieger then decided he was strong enough to fight the frigate, which now turned about and set all sails to get out to the open sea before it again turned about and charged its enemies.



PEDER WULFF



SØREN BILLE

However, on second thought, the captain on "*Tribune*" decided the game was getting too hot and contented himself with giving "*Allart*" another broadside and then turned about and headed out again pursued by the brigs.

"*Alsen*" and "*Allart*" were poor sailers and soon lagged behind, but "*Samsøe*" and "*Seagull*" continued the chase and a running fight with the frigate.

The Norwegian balls hit home. "*Tribune's*" main topgallant yard was shot away and a launch it towed behind was sunk.

But dark was falling, and since the brigs had fired most of their ammunition, Krieger broke off the pursuit. He steered toward land again, and late at night all four brigs ran in to Svinør.

It was later reported that "*Tribune*" arrived at Anholt, then occupied by the British, in a sorry condition with a loss of 9 dead and 15 wounded.



THE FRIGATE "*TRIBUNE*" PURSUED BY THE NORWEGIAN BRIGS.

Krieger had better luck a couple of months later. It had been reported that several British convoys was going to depart Gothenburg headed to England, and it was important to make use of the opportunity to intercept them.

He first cruised between the Väder islands and Skagen and then took up position with the brigs outside Lindesnes ["The Naze"] to wait for the convoys. Early in the morning of the July 19 a lot of sails headed west were sighted and it was not long before Krieger was in the middle of the flock.

Astonishingly enough, the convoy was only guarded by a small navy brig, and it at once set full sails to get away.

Now the Norwegians got busy. All boats were lowered, and in the course of half an hour the 18 ships in the convoy had their crews increased by three or four Norwegian navy sailors.

The whole fleet then steered north toward land. Now and then a fast-sailing ship tried to escape, but a warning shot from the nearest brig would quickly convince it to rejoin the herd.

By evening the fleet had reached the vicinity of Osøy, where Christianssand's gunboat division met it with the needed number of pilots, and by noon the next day all the prizes lay well guarded in harbors between Mandal and Christianssand.

This was the best catch made through the whole war. It was worth nearly 5 million *rigsdaler*, and since several ships carried grain, hunger was stilled in many poor homes.

The guerilla war continued in 1811. On the 25th of April Lieutenant Klinck succeeded in destroying a couple of British cutters that for a long time had had a harmful influence on the grain trade between Jutland and southern Norway.

On a reconnaissance cruise, Acting Lieutenant Olaus Falch had learned that one of the cutters used to have station in Kungshamn outside Uddevalla, and on the 23^d of April Klinck and Falch left Sandøysund with three armed longboats. In Havstenssund they came across and took an enemy launch that the cutter "*Hero*" had sent out to capture Norwegian *jekter* carrying grain. The prisoners also revealed the welcome information that "*Hero*" then lay in Kungshamn. It was then essential to pull hard on the oars to get there before the cutter left the harbor.

Protected by darkness the longboats rowed south along the coast. Near Kungshamn they found a pilot who told them that the cutter "*Swan*" also had entered the harbor.

This changed the situation. The cutters would have more than a dozen guns between them, and Klinck only had 6. The rowers also were rather tired, since they had been at the oars for more than 24 hours, but when asked, they all as one declared that if their captain wanted to attack the superior enemy, they were with him all the way.



CHRISTEN KLINCK

At three-thirty in the morning the Norwegian gunboats rowed into the harbor at Kungshamn. The cutters immediately cut their anchor cables and set sail to get under way and bring their guns to bear on the daring attackers. Their first salvo frightened the Swedish pilot so badly that he jumped into a dinghy and fled to the shore.

It was not easy to maneuver in the dark, especially since there were several skerries in the harbor, but the Norwegians did not let themselves be deterred. They went to their work fearlessly, and the battle was fought at pistol shot range. Since the British shots went high, not a single Norwegian was killed or wounded – however improbable that might sound.



THE BATTLE WITH "*SWAN*" AND "*HERO*" IN KUNGSHAMN.

After an hour or so, "*Swan*" had to strike its flag, but "*Hero*" managed to slip out through the other inlet to the harbor. However, the cutter had suffered so much damage that it sank during the crossing to England.

Nor did "*Swan*" get to sail on further raiding cruises. It went to the bottom as soon as the surviving members of the crew had got over into the Norwegian gunboats.

The two cutters were said to have captured 30 ships in the course of the winter, so of course there was great joy when Klinck and Falch returned and reported the victory.

The Norwegians also had several successful encounters with the enemy later in the summer, and on the 2nd of September the 12 gun brig "*Manly*" was captured.

However, King Frederik then decided to send the newly constructed frigate "*Najaden*" up to Norway. It was probably well intended, but no one here had wanted this reinforcement, since it could be expected that the British admiralty soon would send larger ships to the coast of Norway to drive the frigate away, and so it was.

On the 6th of July a small squadron lay at anchor by Sandøy near the lead in to Tvedestrand. It consisted of the frigate "*Najaden*" of 36 guns, commanded by Captain Hans Holm, and the brigs "*Lolland*," "*Kiel*," and "*Samsøe*."

Several British warships had been observed out at sea, but it was taken as given that these would not venture into the tight passages among the skerries.

However, there was one Englishman who was daring enough to try. This was the 24 year old Captain James Stewart commanding the 68 gun ship of the line "*Dictator*." He had orders to search for and engage "*Najaden*," and when he spied the frigate's tall masts in among the islands he decided to take the opportunity, even if his larger ship should run aground.

Together with the brigs "*Calypso*," "*Podargus*," and "*Flamer*," "*Dictator*" sailed bravely past the present Møkkalasset lighthouse and in among the islands. At this unexpected sight, Captain Holm immediately gave orders to raise anchor and sail further up inside the island, since he considered it reckless to enter into an open battle with such a superior opponent. Lyngør harbor lay ten kilometers farther up among the island, and he thought it quite impossible for a ship of the line of "*Dictator's*" size to follow him any farther than to Borøya. Nor did he think there was deep enough water. Even today, when the narrow channel is well marked, most sailors would agree. But Stewart trusted his luck – and luck can sometimes be better than reason. Right enough – "*Podargus*" went aground in Borøykilen, and "*Flame*" was left behind to assist it, but "*Dictator*" and "*Calypso*" continued following in "*Najaden's*" wake, even though the lead sometimes was so narrow that the battleship had to take in its studding sail booms to avoid scraping against the cliffs.

At 8:30 in the evening the Norwegian squadron sailed into the harbor at Lyngør instead of continuing up the coast. A couple of commercial freighters also lay in the harbor, and for lack of space there was no possibility of any naval order in the mooring. Captain Holm probably thought it was not necessary anyway, since the pilot had assured him that there was not deep enough water for the enemy ship of the line.

However, in this he was shown badly mistaken, since half an hour later "*Dictator*" glided majestically into the harbor and positioned itself so advantageously that Captain Stewart could fire whole port broadsides into the packed together Norwegian ships, while Holm could not bring more than a dozen cannon to bear on the enemy.

"*Calypso*," which had run aground sailing by Holmen, unfortunately soon got clear, and anchored up behind "*Dictator*."



MAP OF LYNGØR HARBOR.

The outcome of the battle could thus not be in doubt. After half an hour's cannonade "*Najaden*" was, as Captain Stewart expressed it, "literally battered to atoms." A single broadside brought all of the frigate's masts down. Unfortunately, the upper deck also fell down on the guns below and crushed most of the men there. "*Najaden*" laid over on her side with the gun ports in the water and, to top it all, caught on fire.

Captain Stewart then turned his fire onto the brigs. "*Kiel*" had to strike its flag, and the captain

on "*Lolland*" himself set fire to his ship so that it would not fall into the hands of the enemy. Which it did anyway – fortunately. The British put out the fire before much damage was done. Only "*Samsø*" slipped out of the east inlet and came to anchor in a safe location.

Meanwhile, the survivors from "*Najaden*" and "*Lolland*" had gotten ashore. Captain Holm, who was among them, sought to continue fighting. He had already

at the beginning of the battle sent a message to Lieutenant Mechlenburg, who lay in Risør with three longboats, and a little after midnight they entered the harbor along with two jollyboats, which had been stationed near Lyngør.

Stewart's situation now became less enviable. The gunboats found protected positions and fired their guns to good effect. He therefore sent an officer under a white flag to Captain Holm and offered to release his prisoners if he got free passage out of the harbor with "*Lolland*" and "*Kiel*." The Norwegians rejected this offer, since more gunboats were expected to arrive any moment.

However, they did not arrive in time, and a fresh breeze sprang up that allowed "*Dictator*" and "*Calypso*" to leave Lyngør through the southwestern inlet.

Holm followed after them with the gunboats, but had to give up the pursuit after half an hour. The Lord granted Captain Stewart a much too favorable wind, and he got safely away with a loss of 9 dead, 35 wounded, and 2 prisoners.



HANS HOLM



PETER BUHL



GEORG GRODTSCHILLING

Norway and Denmark had more grounds for sorrow. 133 of their splendid sons lost their lives in this disastrous battle; among them the Lieutenants Peter Buhl and Georg Grodtschilling.

Nor did Norway later get an opportunity to avenge that night at Lyngør, but the honorable memories from the war at sea with Great Britain are still so numerous that we can afford to admire Captain Stewart's daredevil bravery. There was material in this man for a British Tordenskiold.

Before we end this chapter, we will take the opportunity to mention some other individuals who distinguished themselves during the war. Such brave men as Acting Lieutenant Edvard Andersen, the privateer captains Knud Ellingsen, Anders Christophersen, Tønnes Janssen – "Strong" Janssen – and the militia leader Lars Reinertsen won renown that still is not forgotten among the coastal population.



MEMORIAL COLUMN RAISED IN LYGØR IN 1847.



CHRISTIANIA UNIVERSITY.

Chapter Nineteen

THE FOUNDING OF CHRISTIANIA UNIVERSITY.

A strong character is soon tempered and matured in the school of adversity. Our nobler instincts often come strongest to the fore during our hardest struggles for survival.

This was true of the Norwegian people in the period between 1807 and 1814. Our material needs had never been more pressing, but nor have our national spirit ever risen to such heights as then.

The best memorial to this warm, unselfish willingness to sacrifice that filled the nation in these difficult war years is the founding of our university – a symbol of Norway's intellectual independence. The men who realized this national demand should always hold an honorable place in the memory of the following generations.

It was not only the material difficulties that were to be overcome. It was also necessary to prevail over the resistance of the autocratic Union king – and that was the greatest difficulty, since Frederik VI had already as crown prince stated

that the Norwegians should never get their own university as long as he could prevent it, and those who knew the king personally knew that he was an honest man, who meant what he said. The central principle of the absolute monarchy made it necessary to hold the Norwegian people under a kind of spiritual guardianship. Frederik also proved to be the most Danish-minded of the Union kings. He was the first who could write in a reasonably correct Danish language and significantly styled himself *Frederik* rather than *Friederich* like his predecessors.

As long as the Oldenburg kings felt like Germans, they had sought to divide wind and weather between Norwegians and Danes as equally as possible as permitted by the absolute monarchy's centralization policies. An intention that King Christian VI had expressed well in a reply given to a minister who felt that Christiania ought not to have as extensive commercial privileges as Copenhagen: "I am the ruler of both realms, the father of both children. I will not do wrong to either, but one must not demand more than the other – equal children, equal shares."

His grandson, King Frederik VI, had – regrettably for him – not the same conception of his position as king of Norway.

But fortunately the ideas that brought on the French revolution had sunk deep into the Norwegians' consciousness, and their homeland's difficulties during the wars with Sweden and Great Britain had taught them to again act for themselves.

The same days in which the Society for Norway's Welfare was established also saw the first practical expressions of interest for the university cause.

In "*Tiden*" for 9 December 1809, the advertisement we can read in the attached facsimile on the following pages herein appeared.

The patriots referred to later proved to be Count Wedel-Jarlsberg, estate owner Bernt Anker, and the merchants of Christiania Westye Egeberg and Johannes Thrane.



The Topographical Society, established in 1791, joined the Society for Norway's Welfare, and was put in charge of promoting the university cause.

Nine responses were received, and 1st Prize was awarded to *Cand. Theol.* Nicolai Wergeland's treatise "*Mnemosyne*." This paper was not only an excellent contribution to the discussion for our own university, but also a sharp and heartfelt avowal for our national rights in general.

Løverbøg
19de Decbr.

Siden.

No. 34.
1809.

Privilegeret til Hørsendelse med de Kongelige Rideskifter.

Samlet og forlagt af Præst Wulfsberg i Christiania,
og trykt i hans Officin.

Ku er Liv opvakt i Norske Sjæle. Ku behandles Sagen med ædel Iret. Ku staae i frem, prisværdige Mand! og indbyde hver Fædrelands Ven til at tale i Sagen, og at raadslaae med Gode. Er dette ikke som et heelt Morgenbrud? Er det ikke som Gøderedelse til et festligt Optog? Gør noget saadant et det for mig, og jeg seer saa nu al, at hoordanne end Alders Bepasserteder vorder, saa saare snareere eller senere et Universitet i Norge. Ved den Tanke sendes jeg.
Tage Røkke.

I en lang Række af Aar har Oprettelsen af et Universitet i Norge været et af Normandens forrige National: Ønsker.

Ved den Tanke — at Juret, uden sandt Mod og sand Fædrelands-
kærlighed, og fordoblet Ansirengelse for at fremme Videnskaber, Kunst, Oplysning og Bindsidighed, kan redde Fædrelandet fra at synke under Værdien af de Ulykker, som i nærværende Tidrum have rammet det — er bliit vigtige National: Ønske bleven end varmere og kraftigere.

Besættelsen af dette Ønske har en uanvnt Patriot nyligen udlovet 400 Rdlr. for den bedste Afhandling om et Universitets Oprettelse i Norge, og en anden ligeledes anvnt Norges Ven lagt til disse 400 Rdlr. endnu 600 Rdlr., saaat Præmien skulde udgjøre den Sum 1000 Rdlr.

Hvor meget Sagen maa ligge dem begge paa Hierte, kan heraf tydelig nok indsees. Men desomere magtpaaliggende maatte det ogsaa være dem, baade at saae Opgaven paa den behørig Maade fremsat, og de i sin Tid indkomnende Afhandlinger over samme rigtig bedømte. De have derfor troet: at burde henvende sig til det Topographiske Selskab for Norge, som det eneste litteraire Selskab i Christiania, med Anmodning om at ville forfatte og bekjendtgjøre Prisdøggaven, samt siden ved en Committee lade bedømme de Afhandlinger, som derover maatte indkomme.

Omendkjønt Selskabet nu vel indsaar, at Sagen ikke staar i nogen egentlig Forbindelse med dets Hovedformaal, som ikke er at gjere Planer eller Forslag til nyttige Indretninger for Norge, men kun at bane Vejen dertil for Statsmanden og Statistikeren, ved at tilvejebringe gode og paalidelige Underretninger om Landet og dets Beskaffenhed: saa troede det dog, forsaavidt Sagen kan betragtes fra en litterair Synspunkt, og da Selskabet har gjort sig det til en Lov, at medvirke til andre litteraire Gjenstande end dem, der angaae dets egentlige Formaal, ikke at burde undlaae sig for den overdragne Forretning, og udsætter derfor herved de Selskabet i denne Hensigt tilsendte 1000 Rdlr., siger Et Tusinde Rigsdaler for den bedste Afhandling:

Om et Universitets Oprettelse i Norge,

hvor følgende Spørgsmaalene besvares:

- 1) Bør Norge have et Universitet i sit eget Skjød?
- 2) Hvorledes og hvor indrettes et Universitet i Norge meest hensigtsmæssigen?
- 3) Hvad udfordres til Oprettelsen og Vedligeholdelsen af et Universitet i Norge; og af hvilke Kilder tages de Midler, som dertil udfordres?

Spørgsmaalene ønskes besvarede med særdeles Hensyn til Tidens og Landets Traug og Tarv.

Grundighed, Nojagtighed og Frimodighed, forenede med den strenge Upartiskhed og Fordomsfrihed, ere iøvrigt de Egenskaber, som kunne udmærke Opgavens Besvarelse.

Afhandlingerne forfattes i Mødermaalet. De indsendes inden 1ste Juli 1810 med Udskrift. Til det Topographiske Selskab for Norge, og ledsages, som sædvanligt, med en lust Villet, i hvilken findes Forfatterens Navn, og udenpaa den samme Devise, som paa Afhandlingene.

I det Topographiske Selskab for Norge den 9de Decbr. 1809.

Saturday

No. 54

9th Dec.

1809.

The Times

Privileged to be distributed with the Royal Mail.

Gathered and edited by Pastor Wulfsberg in Christiania,
and printed in his office.

Now life is awakened in Norwegian souls. Now the matter is treated with added fervor. Now you stand forth, praiseworthy men! and invite every son of the homeland to speak in the matter, and join in your deliberations. Is not this like a wonderful morning? Is it not as preparations for a parade? It is something like this for me, and I see that from now on, that whatever its particulars may turn out to be, sooner or later there will be a university in Norway. In this thought I rejoice.

Tyge Nothe

For a long row of years the establishment of a university in Norway has been one of the Norwegians' ardent national desires.

With the thought — that nothing, without true courage and love for the homeland, and re-doubled efforts to further sciences, arts, education, and enterprise, can save the homeland from sinking under the burden of the disasters it has been hit with in the present times —that important national desire has become still warmer and stronger.

Inspired by this desire an unnamed patriot has recently pledged a reward of 400 *Rdlr.* for the best treatise about the establishment of a university in Norway, and another, likewise unnamed friend of Norway, has added to this 400 *Rdlr.*, and now 600 *Rdlr.*, such that the award will amount to the sum of 1,000 *Rdlr.*

How much the matter weighs on their hearts, can plainly be seen from this. But so much the more pressing must it be for them, both to get the matter properly presented, and that in time the received treatises will be correctly judged. They have therefore decided to turn to The Topographical Society of Norway, as the only literary society in Christiania, with a request to compose and publicize the prize competition, and later name a committee to evaluate the treatises that might be submitted.

Although the Society well realizes that the matter does not have any connection to its main purpose, which is not to make plans or proposals for useful provisions for Norway, but only to assist the statesman and statistician in their work by providing good and reliable reports about the land and its circumstances, it still believed, as far as the matter can be considered from a literary point of view, and since the Society's bylaws permit it to cooperate in other literary endeavors than those, which pertain to its actual purpose, it should not excuse itself from the bequeathed task, and the Society therefore for this purpose offer the entrusted 1,000 *Rdlr.* (One Thousand *Rigsdaler*) for the best treatise concerning:

About the Establishment of a University in Norway

wherein the following questions are answered:

1. Should Norway have its own university?
2. How and where would a university be most expediently established in Norway?
3. What is required for the establishment of a university in Norway; and from which sources can the required means be obtained?

It is desired that the questions be answered with special consideration of the country's needs and available means.

Thoroughness, exactitude, and forthrightness, together with the strictest impartiality and objectivity are also attributes that may distinguish the submitted papers.

The treatises are to be written in our mother tongue. They shall be submitted before 1 July 1810 and addressed to: The Topographical Society of Norway, and accompanied, as usual, with a sealed envelope, inside which the author's name is found, and on the outside the same title as on the treatise.

For The Topographical Society of Norway, the 9th of October, 1809.

In a historic-literary preamble, the author gives a short overview of all the written sources dealing with the university question from 1660 to 1809. In the introduction he states "that it is the duty of the State to contribute to the enlightenment of the nations of the world to the extent of its abilities and not just enjoy the fruits of the efforts of other nations." The State's aims in establishing a university should be:

- a. To give its citizens the moral ethos and genuine education that will make them into agreeable and useful members of society.
- b. To provide the State with competent teachers of religion, jurists, physicians, agronomists, etc., etc.
- c. To foster and tutor the higher intellects for the furtherance of the "beautiful sciences"¹ and appreciation of their importance in society.
- d. To sustain the natural sciences by providing competent professors.

Wergeland further stated:

"The result of all thoughtful investigations is this: that, just as any individual's independence and welfare depends on the degree of education he possesses, so also does a nation's strength, independence, and economic development depend on the mass of knowledge common among its citizens. A nation without scientific knowledge becomes a slave to its neighbors; it becomes, in its poverty and need, dependent, despised, exploited, unable to care for itself ... Norway is an ancient kingdom, a venerable oldster, famous for its deeds, and never subjugated or conquered ... These two venerable kingdoms may well constitute one state, but not one realm; if they were to merge into one, then the name of one of them must die. It cannot be denied that many writers have attempted to make the name of Norway to die away and be subsumed into Denmark. Certain writers refer to Denmark-Norway as just Denmark,



NICOLAI WERGELAND

¹ *Skjønne videnskaber* – philosophy, poetry and literature as opposed to the "useful" or "natural" sciences.

and many more expressions are found by Danish authors, who intimate that the name of Norway is close to extinction in the catalogue of states in the world. It is unjust; it is insulting to Norway, which has no lesser right to uphold its rank than Denmark. It does not comport with the modesty one associates with the Danish character, and it does not serve to preserve the brotherly love between our nations. There is – it cannot be denied – something unseemly in the circumstance that a nation, infused with love for the sciences in physical, moral, and political respects, endowed with so many blessings, where the sciences thrived, and the muses sang when they were stilled everywhere else, and a frightful silence ruled over all of Europe – a nation whose inhabitants still have retained their talents for intellectual pursuits, arts, and civility. — It cannot be denied, I say, that it is unseemly, unacceptable, unjustifiable that such a nation is the only one in the cultivated world that lacks an institution for higher learning ... It is objected: Norway does not need a university of its own, since it has one in its sister country. The University of Copenhagen is intended to serve both countries, and the students of both countries enjoy its facilities! — — — I will put a question which will stump all those who would insist that the University of Copenhagen is perceived to be Norway's as well as Denmark's university. I will ask: Does Norway have a literature? That the Danish writers do not acknowledge any Norwegian literature save that which is printed in Norwegian presses, which in most cases is worse than nothing, and that they also have reproached their sister country for this deficiency, and from that have taken the opportunity to look down on the illiterate land and consider it evidence of Denmark's superiority, that is such a common thing it is not even noticed. But what insulting inconsistency is it not then to insist that the Copenhagen University belongs to Norway, and that Norway has no literature? ... The same individuals who have insisted that the University of Copenhagen belongs to Norway, they will not admit that the famous Norwegian-born authors belong to Norwegian literature, but expropriate all Norwegian masterworks for Denmark and call them Danish authors ...

No! Norway does not have a university. A Norwegian university is one that is located on Norwegian soil, is built and maintained by Norwegian means, and at which Norwegians lecture and Norwegian students constitute the majority of the student body, and finally, where those sciences are cultivated that serve Norway's benefit and honor. That alone I will call a Norwegian university, but such an institution does not yet exist, either within or outside of Norway's borders. Thus Norway has no university."

We might be tempted to cite even more of Wergeland's paper, but space herein does not permit it. In "*Mnemosyne*" we finally meet a Norwegian patriotism expressed in plain and clear terms. The paper had a liberating effect in wide circles, and even Jacob Aall, a warm friend of the Union, stated on the occasion of "*Mnemosyne's*" publication: "This essay was not only crowned with the major part of the prize award, but it can in truth also be said that it was received all over Norway with approval, and even with enthusiasm. This correspondent cannot easily remember to have read a paper that to a greater extent warmed his feelings for a great national interest."

Of course, Wergeland's essay did not meet with an especially enthusiastic reception in Denmark. King Frederik tried to put a good face on it and sent the author a note of appreciation and added 300 *Rigsdaler* to the prize money, but the Union king's real opinion was probably expressed in the critique that the famous Danish jurist A.S. Ørsted wrote in "*Litteraturtidende*" in which "*Mnemosyne*" was flayed according to all the rules of the game and the author was especially severely reprimanded for his "bitterness against the Danish sister nation" and "narrow-minded nationalism." However, in spite of Ørsted's stature, his negative criticism did not hurt Norway's case; quite to the contrary. As the Danish historian Werlauff stated: "Many Norwegians gave more consideration to the thought of separation from Denmark following Ørsted's criticism."

Meanwhile, King Frederik and his advisers had come to understand that *something* had to be done to satisfy the Norwegian demands, and the *Pater Patriae* therefore ordered the director of the University of Copenhagen to consider whether it would be expedient to establish 3 or 4 professorships in each Norwegian diocese – since establishing a separate university in Norway "would be subject to almost insuperable difficulties!"

However, the Board realized that this substitute alternative would appear much too ridiculous and therefore suggested another scheme for establishing an "academic study-institution for the unlearned¹," or a kind of seminary, from which history, philosophy, and linguistic sciences would be excluded. In this way the Norwegians would still be intellectually dependent on Denmark, and King Frederik therefore found the proposal so excellent that it received his most gracious approval in a resolution of 27 April 1810.

However, it now appeared that the Norwegian people had got leaders who no longer would put up with Danish tricks and artifices. Without paying the least attention to the royal resolution, the Society for Norway's Welfare at its meeting on the 7th of February 1811 adopted a motion "that all the Society's members as well as any and all friends of Norway should be queried through the Society's district commissioners as to what and how each and any of the country's inhabitants would contribute to Norway getting a university of its own."

This motion gave a rather clear indication that the Norwegians no longer would let the university cause slide, and the king was also told this in person by

¹ Those lacking a college degree.

Wedel-Jarlsberg, who had suddenly been called down to Copenhagen, suspected of high treason by collusion with the Swedish government.



Wedel-Jarlsberg

However, when the count arrived, no evidence could be shown, and when he wished to know the reason for this inconvenient summons in the middle of the winter, the Danish government could not think of any better excuse than to ask him to help the University Board work out the plan for the "academic study institution."

During his dealings with the Board, Wedel-Jarlsberg declared "that after all that he knew, had heard, or perceived, it was the Norwegian people's unanimous and passionate wish that Norway must get a *university* of such character and extent that it could give that part of Norway's youth, who wanted to study sciences, the learned as well as the natural, not only a preparatory, but a complete academic education in the languages and sciences customarily taught at universities – that any academic institution conceived on a smaller scale would not fulfill the above mentioned desire and hope of the people, nor to any significant degree win public favor, or trust, or support from the wealthy class, who is able to provide support, and thus could not go forward to any success or lasting permanence. On the other hand, he was, after the fullest due deliberation, quite confident that a complete university would be received with open arms, be favored, sought, and supported, and moreover, bind the nation's heart to the king who founded it."

Confronted with this weighty statement, the University Board found it best to beat a full retreat and stated that "it would not hesitate to most deferentially recommend to His Majesty that the academic educational institution, which His Royal Highness most graciously has already decreed for Norway, should be a fully comprehensive university."

However, it would surely have taken a long time before the Union king found the needed resources, and doubtlessly there were several influential men among King Frederik's advisers who hoped that the matter would fall due to lack of money, but the Norwegians' willingness to donate to the cause frustrated the opponents' hopes. On the 1st of June the Society for Norway's Welfare sent out an appeal to the nation to sign up for contributions for the university, and in spite of the distressed financial conditions, the appeal won an astonishing response.

The society's board set a good example. Wedel-Jarlsberg and Peder Anker immediately signed up for 50,000 *Rdlr.*, Rosenkrantz for 30,000, and Friedrich von Hessen for 5,000. When the appeal closed, 3,597 contributors had donated 782,000 *Rdlr.* for the great national cause. In addition there were many annual contributions. Though all the givers deserve to be mentioned, we must here limit ourselves to only mentioning the major donors: Jacob Aall, Næs Jernværk; Peter Andreas Heuch, Kragerø; Nils Omsted, Drammen; Kristine Hofgaard, Drammen; Peder v. Cappelen, Drammen; Hans Malling, Drammen; Wilhelm Steenbloch Bugge, Drammen; Nils Anker, Fredrikshald; Carsten Tank, Fredrikshald; Morten Kallevig, Arendal; B. Holm, Christianssand; Nils Aall, Porsgrund; Jacob Cudrio,

Porsgrund; Diderik v. Cappelen, Porsgrund; Collett & Søn, Christiania; Eser Holm, Christiania; Johannes Thrane, Christiania; Hans Bang, Drammen; and Henrik Carstensen, Risør.

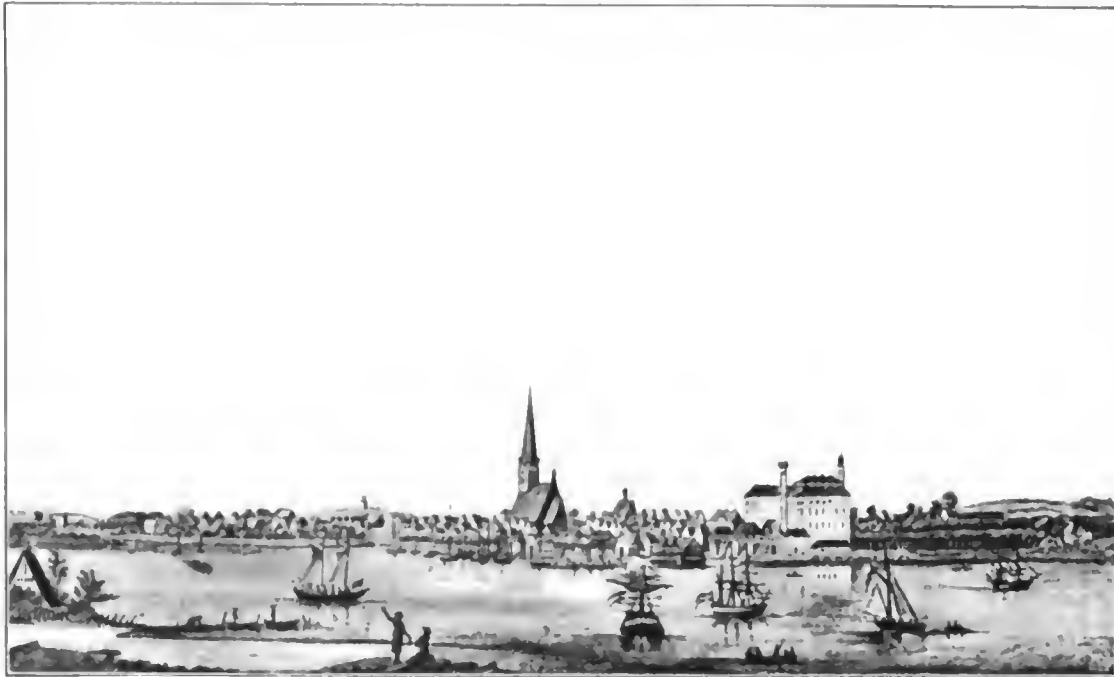
When the government in Copenhagen heard about the size of the donation drive's result, they did not have any excuses for further delay. The time had now come when King Frederik no longer *could* prevent the setting up of a university in Norway. His resistance was broken, and he understood that the Norwegians would establish the university by themselves if he did not without delay give his own most gracious assent.

This then was given in a formal decree of 2 December 1811.

There still were several vague expressions in this rescript that could awaken doubts about the king's earnestness; there were reservations, which could be seen as loopholes through which King Frederik could find ways to escape from his promise of a *comprehensive* university. However, it was agreed to ignore these for the time being, and on the 11th of December the whole country on the initiative of the Society for Norway's Welfare held a day of celebration of the victory in the great national cause.

Now only the physical setting up of the university was left. The opponents tried to raise their heads again, but in vain. In 1813 the Royal Frederik's University in Christiania entered onto its blessed mission – and just at the last moment, since if Norway's youth later had been directed to Lund and Uppsala for their higher education, the fight for our intellectual and political independence would have been harder and longer lasting – and then the Norwegian people's penitential pilgrimage in search of independence could hardly have had its end in sight any time soon.





KIEL IN FREDERIK VI'S TIME.

Chapter Twenty

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION BETWEEN NORWAY AND DENMARK BY THE TREATY OF KIEL.

A union between Sweden and Norway – this was what Swedish politicians hoped to achieve by the choice of the Norwegians' adored general in chief as heir apparent to the Swedish throne.

After having lost Finland and the unfortunate border war with Norway, the dismembered and deeply humiliated Swedish people felt too weak to survive on their own. When the emperors met at Erfurt in 1811, there had been talk of dividing Sweden between Alexander I and Frederik VI, and this idea could perhaps once more come to the fore. Despite all his glory, Napoleon still needed allies, and these could well in a difficult moment demand their costs compensated at Sweden's expense.

But if the Norwegians could be persuaded to terminate the union with Denmark and join with Sweden under Christian August, Sweden would not only be able to maintain its independence, but there was also hope that a combined Swedish-Norwegian army under Christian August's leadership could drive the Russians out of Finland – since the Russians were busy with other enemies.

However, fate would otherwise. Christian August – or Carl August, as he was called as crown prince of Sweden – never had a strong constitution, and his efforts during the late war seems to have seriously weakened him. During a muster on Kvidinge Hede in Scania 28 May 1810, he suffered a stroke and died without regaining consciousness.

The news caused deep sorrow all through the northern countries, and the poets in all three kingdoms tried to interpret the feelings of their people at the much too early demise of the noble prince. Knud Lyne Rahbek wrote:

<p><i>"For ham tre Nationers Taarer rinde: Hans Fødsel brammer Danneriget af. Erkjendtlig Norge har hans Seiersminde. Ham Sverige bød en Krone, gav en Grav. For hint levet han, for dette er han død: Hvis Graad mon stoltest, hvis retfærdigst flød?"</i></p>	<p><i>"For him three nation's tears flow: Of his birth the Danish realm brags. Certainly Norway has his victory memorials. Sweden offered him a crown, gave a grave. For that he lived, for this he is dead. Which tears most proud, which most justifiably flowed?"</i></p>
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His sarcophagus in Riddarholmen Church bears the following inscription:

<p>RÄTT OCH GRÄNSSOR SKULLE HAN SKYDDAT, GAMMAL DYD OCH FORNTIDS ÄRA SKULLE HAN UPPLEVVAT, HJELTAR OCH KONUNGAR, SOM HÄR HVILAR, DE STÖRSTA BLAND EDER SKULLE PÅ THRONEN I HONOM ÅTERLEVVAT.</p>	<p>ICKE EN THRON BLOTT EN GRAF FICK SVERIGE GIVVA HONOM DER NEDSTEG HAN MED CARLS NAMN OCH SVENSKA FOLKETS EVIGA KÄRLEK.</p>	<p><i>Rätt och Gränssor Skulle Han skyddast, Old virtues and the honor of olden days he was to bring to life. Heroes and kings who here rest, the greatest among you were to on the throne in him live again.</i></p>	<p>Not a throne, but only a grave got Sweden to give him. There he stepped down with the name of Carl and the Swedish people's eternal love.</p>
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Many more or less clear expectations of a united, strong North sank into the grave with the popular prince. It is doubtful if Christian August could have been the man to reestablish Queen Margreta's great accomplishment in an improved form, but with the strong approval he commanded in all of Scandinavia, he would

certainly as king of Sweden have had a potential of working for a closer alliance between the separated tribes of the Scandinavian people.

When Christian August died, the Norwegian and Swedish union advocates had to suspend their activities for the time being, since the hopes of Count Wedel-Jarlsberg and his Swedish friends for a union between Norway and Sweden were wholly tied to the prince's person. The strong antipathy that so many Norwegians felt for the union with Denmark also was significantly moderated shortly thereafter by King Frederik's rescript of 2 September 1811 regarding the establishment of a Norwegian university.

The most enlightened patriots certainly agreed that the union with Denmark was not in Norway's best interest – its history spoke much too loudly in that regard – but on the other hand they found that the ties that bound the twin kingdoms together were encrusted with so many venerable traditions and good memories that it must be considered a matter of honor for the Norwegians to hold on to the union despite its faults – since these could in time be improved upon.

In addition, there was the Norwegian people's traditional fealty to their royal house, and there still was a rather general conception among the freehold farmers that their allodial rights and the Oldenburg kings' royal inheritance rights rested on the same foundation – and were mutually dependent on each other. Unbreakable loyalty to the rightful royal succession therefore was in the eyes of the Norwegian farmers synonymous with a sense of national identity and love of the fatherland.

For these reasons we must assume that the union with Denmark – however damaging to Norway's interests – would still have been maintained today.

But fortunately one of the wheels in the European major power politics became entangled in the union bonds – and then they broke without Norwegians having anything to do with it.

Sweden's King Carl XIII was declining rapidly in both body and mind. In order to avoid a crisis it was imperative to select a new heir to the throne and the quicker the better. However, there were many considerations to take into account for this important choice.

In hopes of inducing the Norwegians to look favorably on a future union, Adlersparre and his friends put up the deceased's older brother, Duke Frederick Christian II of Augustenburg, as a candidate for heir to the Swedish throne, and he probably would have been chosen if Frederik VI had not gotten in the way. The king got wind of what was up and sent couple of gunboats to blockade the island

of Als, where the duke lived, and prevent his traveling to Sweden. Frederik wanted to be the Swedish heir apparent himself, and if Napoleon supported his candidature, the Swedes would probably have to accept him however reluctantly. Napoleon then stood at the apex of his power, and an imperial note from Paris would have provided sufficient guidance for the Swedish statesmen. Carl XIII had also placed the final decision in the hands of the emperor in an official letter.

Napoleon also at first thought to award his faithful ally with the Swedish crown. A renewal of the Kalmar Union could be quite advantageous for France. Its relations with Russia were still friendly, but would hardly last, and then it might be well to have his devoted admirer Frederik VI at the head of the three Nordic nations' military forces. In a conversation with Baron Ankarswärd, who had brought Carl XIII's letter, Napoleon gave an obvious hint in that direction. But on second thought the emperor changed his mind. He may have feared that carrying out the plan would cause an immediate break with Tsar Alexander – and that he was not yet ready for. Considering this, Frederik VI's candidature fell of itself, since the Swedes had no enthusiasm at all for this royal prospect – especially in military circles. The army would rather have one of Napoleon's generals as heir apparent, since that might lead to an alliance with France – and the re-conquest of Finland.

It was in the middle of this confused situation that a young Swedish lieutenant, Baron Carl Otto Mörner, appeared as an accidental "kingmaker." He had been employed as a courier, and while staying in Paris, he managed to wangle an invitation to see and speak with one of France's most famous personages, Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Pontecorvo. For lack of anything else to talk about, the young lieutenant began to speak about the disagreements at home in Sweden with respect to the selection of an heir to the throne and mentioned in passing that many officers would prefer a well-known military leader – for example, an imperial marshal.

Bernadotte suddenly became a very attentive listener, and when Mörner concluded with a remark that the question of the Swedish heir apparent could hardly be of much interest to the marshal, since it was not to be expected that a famous southern European military leader would want to spend the rest of his life so far up in the icy north, Bernadotte suddenly burst out with Latin animation: "Yes, yes; I am not unwilling. I will speak to His Majesty the Emperor about this!"

It is understandable that Mörner became both red and white at this unexpected turn the conversation had taken, and when the prince with exquisite courtesy invited the young lieutenant to breakfast the following day, he could not later remember how he got out of the audience.

Mörner right away drove over to the Swedish General Baron Wrede, who was then in Paris, and told him what had transpired and asked for his advice. When Wrede considered the matter, he decided that the lieutenant had not been that far out of line. The baron also wangled an invitation to the marshal's breakfast, and in the course of the conversation found it proper to express a wish for permission to enter His Highness' name at the imminent meeting of the Swedish parliament at Örebro.

A couple of days later, Bernadotte reported the Swedish gentlemen's "wish" to his master, the emperor.

Understandably enough, Napoleon did not take this report very seriously. He probably thought it was mostly a product of the marshal's lively imagination. However, Bernadotte was able to interpret the emperor's reply on this occasion to mean that – he would not oppose the marshal's eventual selection, and Mörner traveled back to Sweden with this message.

The tale of how the Swedish lieutenant came to act as "kingmaker" has since been told in other ways, but this is the story Mörner himself told to a still living Norwegian.

As soon as the results of the young lieutenant's brash conduct became generally known, Bernadotte's candidacy was reacted to with enthusiasm in several quarters, and assisted by a lively agitation the escapade ended with Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte, Marshal of France and Prince of Pontecorvo, being chosen Crown Prince of Sweden at the Parliament in Örebro 21 August 1810.

Napoleon and Bernadotte had never been good friends, and the emperor certainly was not very enthusiastic about his marshal's elevation to heir apparent to the Swedish throne, but he gave his assent to Parliament's choice, and on the 2nd of November the new crown prince solemnly entered Stockholm to the thundering applause of the people.

He had been hailed as "Sweden's savior" along his whole route from Helsingborg. To save the deeply depressed and impoverished nation from going under – this became Carl XIV Johan's great challenge. He brilliantly rose to the occasion – but surely in other ways than most of his new subjects had anticipated.

The hope of getting Napoleon's help to re-conquer Finland had been the deciding factor influencing the choice of the Swedish parliament, but this hope was soon lost. Of course Carl Johan did not have the same sentiments about Finland as the Swedes did. He well understood that a re-conquest of this old Swedish province would mean enormous sacrifices and, even if it succeeded with the assistance of French armies, every winter Finland still would be subject to being inundated by superior numbers of Russian troops – as had happened in 1808.

On the other hand, the former French marshal had during his stay in Denmark as commander of a French expeditionary force – which was to assist in an attack on his present homeland – seen sufficient evidence that Sweden lay out of the range of Napoleon's cannon. When the marshal then became crown prince of Sweden, he resumed his geographical studies of the map of northern Europe and decided that Sweden's independence could best be secured by a union with Norway.

"Then these two kingdoms would form an island state, protected against almost any attack, and through an alliance with Great Britain the Scandinavian peninsula could stand up against all of the European mainland due to the ease with which one could transport 15-20,000 men to any threatened point. If the Norwegians would agree to a union with the Swedes, they could write their own constitution as they wished; he would gladly undersign it all."

Carl Johan stated something like this shortly after his arrival in Sweden and with that established his future policy. *The goal should be a coalition of two independent kingdoms to defend against their common enemies. If he succeeded, then also a war between Swedes and Norwegians, which in the past to a significant degree had hindered the economic development of the Scandinavian peninsula, would become an impossibility in the future. Thus he would earn the gratitude of both nations and at the same time secure his dynasty against domestic and foreign enemies.*

Such a pragmatic and clear-sighted policy naturally met with a strong resistance. It represented an open break with centuries of traditions, but Carl Johan hardly thought for a moment that the goal would be reached without a fight. As a careful general he for the moment took a wait and see approach, though the Swedes soon learned that they had chosen not just a crown prince – but also a stern regent. However, Carl Johan thought it well that his future subjects should

have some time to consider the new political program and time to get over their broken hopes of regaining Finland for the mother country.

Napoleon also helped him by immediately showing the Swedes what a French alliance could lead to. A couple of days after his arrival in Stockholm the new crown prince was handed a note in which the emperor commanded in true imperial style that Sweden should close its harbors to British goods and declare war on Great Britain. Of course, such a step would be absolutely contrary to the interests of the country. Its financial crisis was bad enough already and closing off all trade with Britain could drive the Swedish people to the brink of the abyss. On the other hand, Napoleon's power still seemed to be on the rise and Carl Johan still did not feel himself sufficiently secure in his new position to risk breaking off relations with his old master. He therefore found it best to comply with the imperial demand – and already on the 12th of November 1810 war with Great Britain was declared.

But to neutralize the effects of this step, Carl Johan at the same time initiated secret negotiations with the enemy, and both sides soon agreed that this should be only a sham war and trade should be carried on as usual.

As a reward for his "obedience" Carl Johan now proposed to the French ambassador that Napoleon should press his ally Frederik VI to voluntarily give up his rights to the Norwegian throne! Napoleon reasonably enough considered the proposal a symptom of megalomania and treated it as such. As pragmatic a statesman as Carl Johan probably did not really think it possible that Napoleon would treat his useful and servile Danish comrade in this manner, but sought to sound out the lay of the land. Since the emperor did not seem to have any use for Sweden, the crown prince wanted to see if there was another power that might think an alliance worthwhile – and was willing to pay for an eventual Swedish military assistance; the payment to consist of exerting direct or indirect influence to bring about a union between Sweden and Norway.

Little by little the thought of a break with France ripened, and Napoleon soon gave Carl Johan a sufficient pretext. The trade between Sweden and Great Britain was of course only supposed to be conducted in the deepest secrecy, but it was not long before the emperor got wind of the true state of affairs, and he decided to make an example of it. Carl Johan's punishment should be the loss of Swedish Pomerania and Rügen. The execution he left to Bernadotte's old enemy Davout, Prince of Eckmühl, who moved into Pomerania in late January 1812, and the Swedish garrison was sent to France as prisoners. The die was thus cast.

When Carl Johan received word of Napoleon's action, he immediately sent the emperor a letter in which he totally abandoned the humble tone he had previously used in correspondence with his erstwhile master. The crown prince requested an explanation for the occupation of Pomerania, "so that I can advise the king regarding the policies that Sweden should follow in the future. This undeserved affront to Sweden is deeply felt by the nation – and doubly by me, who have been given the honorable task of defending it. Even though I have contributed to France's victories and have wished to see France honored and successful, it has never occurred to me to sacrifice my adoptive country's honor and independence. Your Majesty, who well knows how to assess what has happened, can surely already foresee my decision. The honor and power that surround Your Majesty, I set some value, but on the other hand I put a great deal of weight on not being considered a vassal. Your Majesty rules over most of Europe, but not over the country to which I am called. My ambition does not stretch any farther than to the defense of this country, and this I regard as the lot fate has allotted me. The effects called forth by the occupation of our German possessions can have unforeseen consequences, and I firmly believe the Swedish people has the courage to dare all to avenge insults it has not done anything to provoke. – –"

At about the same time he sent this strongly worded protest against the French occupation of Pomerania, Carl Johan dispatched his adjutant general, Count Löwenhielm, to St. Petersburg to *open negotiations with Tsar Alexander for a secret alliance between Russia and Sweden*.

In St. Petersburg, a war with Napoleon was already regarded as inevitable. It is therefore not surprising that Tsar Alexander immediately gripped the hand that Russia's old archenemy offered him. If Napoleon won, the very existence of the Russian empire was at risk – the mighty Corsican already dreamed of world dominance. An alliance with the Swedes would therefore be of great importance. Not only for the help a Swedish army might contribute – but as much or more by just staying neutral.

It *might* happen that Sweden, in hopes regaining Finland, would parallel a French attack through Poland with a march to St. Petersburg, and such a conjecture was not entirely groundless, since Napoleon had been sufficiently magnanimous to overlook his former subject's defiant language. He was in the process of planning his Russian campaign and did not find the moment expedient to take offense at the crown prince's behavior. Instead he offered him Finland, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg if the Swedes would join his campaign, but Carl

Johan had now got it into his head that Sweden's future should be secured through a union with Norway, and since Napoleon still was unwilling to leave Frederik VI in the lurch, the negotiations in St. Petersburg proceeded undisturbed in their course.

The treaty was signed on the 5th of April. In this document Carl Johan accepted the Russian occupation of Finland. In return Tsar Alexander gave the union of the Scandinavian peninsula his blessing. If Frederik VI would not voluntarily give up the Norwegian crown, a Russian army of 20,000 men would help carry out the plan – by a joint attack on Zealand. At the same time Carl Johan committed Sweden to provide a corps of 25,000 to assist the said Russian army in an attack on the French possessions in northern Germany – as soon as Napoleon broke the peace with Russia.

On the 18th of July a peace treaty between Sweden and Great Britain was also signed at Örebro, but, for the time being there was no mention of an alliance. The British government did not have a great deal of faith in the Swedish crown prince and preferred to wait and see what time would bring. However, contingent on certain conditions, Sweden was promised an annual subsidy of 18 million *kronor*. Relative to the Swedish finances at the time, 18 million *kronor* was an enormous sum – a heaven-sent gift that could save Sweden from financial ruin. Since Carl Johan had been presented as Sweden's savior, it was of course extraordinarily important to get Great Britain to hand over the money. This succeeded, and Carl Johan thus gained the necessary means to put the Swedish army on its feet again.

Meanwhile, from Dresden Napoleon had issued a declaration of war against Russia, and on the 24th of June 1812 the great French army crossed the river Niemen under the emperor's personal command. The goal was Moscow, and all of Europe waited with suspenseful attention on the outcome of this adventuresome campaign. Attempting to stop these countless legions led by the greatest generals of the age would be fruitless. Therefore the Russian generals were also ordered to just retreat while destroying everything on the enemy's route of march.

This defense plan – recommended by Sweden's crown prince – proved to be very effective, but as the French eagles got closer and closer to Russia's old capital city, Tsar Alexander got more and more worried. He began to lose courage – and now Carl Johan found that the moment had come to form a closer friendship with Sweden's archenemy. A meeting was agreed, and on the 25th of August the Tsar of all the Russias received a son of the French Revolution with the most exquisite honors in Finland's old capital at Åbo.

As events had unfolded, there could no longer be any possibility of a Swedish-Russian invasion of northern Germany. Carl Johan therefore allowed Tsar Alexander to use the Swedish corps to protect St. Petersburg. *In return the Tsar promised to support the Swedish heir to the throne and his family against any possible rival dynastic claims.* This family clause, which was written into a secret article in the Convention of Åbo, later came to be of decisive importance for the dynasty's future.



KING CARL XIII OF SWEDEN.

The convention, which was concluded on the 30th of August 1812, committed Alexander to further advance Sweden a loan of 1½ million rubles, which was to be repaid within 16 months – after Norway's union with Sweden. Hoping that the Russian plan of defense also would soon force Napoleon to retreat, the emperor also promised to send an army of 35,000 men to Scania in October and November, since Carl Johan thought he would then be ready to carry out his invasion of Denmark.

But things did not turn out that easy. Napoleon was not deterred by the Russian mode of warfare. The *Grande Armée* steadily advanced farther and farther into Russia – and on the 14th of September the French legions triumphantly entered Moscow. In the tsars' magnificent old castle in the Kremlin, the mighty emperor now sat awaiting a deputation humbly petitioning for peace – but no one came. Trusting to the formerly French marshal's advice, Tsar Alexander had decided to stick to his defense plan to the last. On his command Moscow was set on fire, but Napoleon still remained in the city for a whole month. He then finally had to give up hope that Alexander would surrender since the Russians' strongest ally – the Russian winter – approached. The order to retreat was given – but too late. Of the more than half a million soldiers that had crossed the Niemen in late June, only 50,000 returned and in a most pitiable condition. Russia was saved – and the dream of dominating the world gone.



Carl Johann

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On the 14th of December Napoleon arrived in Paris, and once more France had to offer up the best of its young to the Corsican titan's will. The disastrous end of the Russian campaign foretold trouble to come – and it was imperative to prepare to meet the gathering storm.

During the *Grande Armée's* retreat Tsar Alexander of course could not send any troops to help Carl Johan, but now that the danger for Russia's independence had faded away, the tsar still did not feel that the case for the union of the Scandinavian halves was all that urgent a matter. Russia, Great Britain, and Austria all would like to have King Frederik VI on their side in the final campaign against Napoleon. They made him the most generous offers, and if he had accepted at once, Carl Johan would hardly have lived to see his burning desire realized.

But Frederik VI was not a man who could make a quick and firm decision. He chose the middle way – declared himself neutral, which of course did not satisfy anyone, and meanwhile the Swedish heir apparent by masterly diplomatic finesse succeeded in wedging himself in between Frederik and his unreliable friends in Russia and England. He declared himself willing to invade the mainland with 30,000 Swedes and join in the battle against Napoleon. Thus he finally won Great Britain for his scheme for a union with Norway, and on the 3^d of March 1813 the following treaty was signed in Stockholm:

I. Sweden commits itself to deploy a corps of 30,000 men for a direct operation on the mainland against the common enemy. This corps shall operate in collaboration with the Russian troops, which according to previous agreement between the courts in Stockholm and St. Petersburg will be placed under H.R.H. the Crown Prince's command.

II. Whereas the King of Sweden hereby has given proof of His desire to contribute to the progress of the common cause, His Britannic Majesty commits himself to join into the agreement entered between Sweden and Russia. Thus His Majesty will not only assent to the Kingdom of Norway be forever united with the Kingdom of Sweden, but also support His Swedish Majesty claims, be it by good services or, if necessary, to deploy His fleet in cooperation with the Swedish and Russian troops. However, the union with Norway shall not be undertaken by means of military force until the King of Denmark has previously refused to join the Northern Alliance on the conditions contained in the treaties binding on the courts in Stockholm and St. Petersburg. Likewise Sweden commits to look after the Norwegian people's happiness and freedom to the extent possible when the aforementioned union is carried out.

III. In order to give the obligations Sweden has assumed more force and to enable His Swedish Majesty to begin His operations with no wasted time as soon as the time of the year permits it, His Britannic Majesty commits to giving Sweden 1 million pounds sterling as a contribution to outfitting, transporting, and feeding the troops during the current year's campaign.

These were the most important provisions. In order to guard against a peace treaty between Great Britain and Denmark, Carl Johan also inserted an article requiring that both parties committed to not conclude a separate peace with the enemy.

Carl Johan now thought he had made good progress toward his goal and sent Frederik VI an ultimatum in which he threatened to attack Denmark and Norway from 3 sides in the days between the 15th and 20th of April if the king did not join the allies and relinquish the Norwegian crown. But Frederik did not let himself be intimidated. The Russian and Austrian ambassadors still had not broken off the negotiations about Denmark-Norway joining the coalition – and Frederik relied on these powers to intervene as far as Norway was concerned. The Swedish ultimatum therefore was an empty threat since Carl Johan could not carry out his threat alone and he was bound by his treaty with Britain, which made the Norwegian question a secondary priority.

The first was getting his army over to the European mainland, but the Russian position still was so ambiguous that Carl Johan found it necessary to request a written commitment from Alexander to break off his alliance with Frederik VI. Meanwhile, he was obliged to let the British navy carry his 30,000 soldiers over to Pomerania.

According to the convention 35,000 Russians and 27,000 Prussians were to join with the Swedish troops and put under Carl Johan's command, but the Russians and Prussians did not show up, and this naturally aroused the crown prince's suspicions. However, he was soon informed that the allies had a good excuse. With an army of 200,000 men, Napoleon had moved to meet the united forces of the Russians, Prussians, and Hanoverians on the 2nd of May at the Battle of Lützen, and on the 21st the French again defeated the allies at Bautzen in Saxony. Carl Johan had then finally gotten over to his troops in Pomerania and at once received requests for support from the tsar of Russia and the king of Prussia.

But the Swedes did not seem to feel any urgency. When the foreign minister at their departure begged the crown prince to spare the troops as much as possible,

he had replied: "Rest easy. I consider the Swedish army as my personal guard – and it will only be used when absolutely necessary." Carl Johan was firmly determined not to sacrifice a single Swedish soldier without significant returns. New legions could not be stamped forth from the war torn soil of Sweden – and he was a Frenchman, and blood is never entirely forgotten. If the allies wanted to have the use of his name and allegiance against his native country, he would see to it that payment would be exacted in full according to the value of the services rendered.

Carl Johan was much too clever a politician to let himself be used – except in furtherance of his own plans. First he wanted firmer guarantees with respect to Norway. The Swedish troops therefore quietly remained in Pomerania under various pretexts, and when the requested reinforcements did not come – Russia and Prussia were obliged to arrange a ceasefire with Napoleon.

In order to get the Norwegian question clarified before the ceasefire ended, the crown prince requested a personal conference with Tsar Alexander and King Friedrich Wilhelm, and in early July the meeting took place in the palace of Trachenberg in Silesia.

The friendship between the Russian tsar and Carl Johan had of course cooled significantly since they last met at Åbo, and when the crown prince demanded that Russian and Prussian troops first should help him force King Frederik to let go of Norway, he was firmly rejected, since this would mean a worrisome division of the Allied forces. For the time being Carl Johan had to submit to the campaign plan as already prepared.

Assuming that Austria would join the coalition, it was decided to form 3 separate armies: The Army of Northern Germany, the Army of Silesia, and the Army of Bohemia. The northern army under Carl Johan was to protect Berlin – and move against Leipzig, if there should be opportunity for offensive actions. The main army in Bohemia should, as circumstances might offer, march into Silesia, Saxony, or Bavaria. If Napoleon moved against the Bohemian army, the crown prince was to attack the French army in the rear. If the northern army was attacked first, the opposite would take place. The Silesian army was to avoid giving separate battle and move to reinforce whichever of the other two armies needed it most.

These were the main features of the Trachenberg Plan. Carl Johan thus had been given a very important role in the fight against Napoleon – and in return

Tsar Alexander renewed his promise to help realizing the plan for uniting the Scandinavian peninsula – at the final peace treaty convention.

On the 22nd of July the king of Prussia also signed a pact with Sweden in Berlin in which among other things it was agreed that if Norway's union with Sweden had not been achieved when Prussia had gained the increase of territory specified in the pact, Friedrich Wilhelm would put 15,000 troops at Sweden's disposition until the union was accomplished – subject to the conditions previously agreed with Great Britain and Russia.

By his superior diplomatic skills, Carl Johan had now gained official guarantees from 3 major powers for the union, and it might be assumed he felt rather secure in the matter, but that was far from being the case – *since the fate of Norway still depended on Napoleon's position.*

This was because a peace congress presided over by Prince Metternich had been convened in Prague. The emperor of Austria had with Alexander and Friedrich Wilhelm's assent acted as mediator, and he enforced this task with an army of 200,000 men. The Austrian peace proposal proposed that Napoleon should give up his protectorate over the Confederation of the Rhine and relinquish the Hanse cities, Poland, and the Illyrian Provinces. If Napoleon had acceded to these moderate demands, France would still have kept the Netherlands, Italy, and Westphalia – and Frederik VI his Norwegian crown, since he had just then abandoned his vacillating posture and concluded a close alliance with Napoleon. Unfortunately for both, Napoleon was unyielding. He probably hoped that his father-in-law in the end would not take the side of his enemies, but he miscalculated. When Napoleon had not accepted the peace proposal when the ceasefire expired on the 10th of August, Emperor Franz joined the coalition.

A week later the war broke out anew – and Carl Johan's prospects again began to brighten. Napoleon won the Battle of Dresden on the 27th of August, but his lieutenant commanders were not so lucky. The Marshals Oudinot and Ney, who had been ordered to take Berlin, were defeated by a part of the Northern Army under General von Bülow at Groszbeeren and Dennewitz. Berlin was thus saved, and the French little by little lost the favorable frontline they had held in northern Germany.

According to the Trachenberg Plan, the Northern Army now should advance on Leipzig, where Napoleon apparently intended to gather his forces – but as the decisive moment of the war approached, Carl Johan seemed less and less

enthusiastic about a personal confrontation with his compatriots – especially when led by Napoleon.

Under various pretexts the crown prince managed to delay moving the Northern Army into the field, but the coalition representatives in his headquarters pressed him so hard that there finally was no other way without risking a break. In the middle of October the coalition's troops were brought together, and on the 16th, 18th, and 19th of October they fought the French in the famous Battle of Leipzig that broke Napoleon's power and decided Norway's future.

For appearances sake, Carl Johan joined in the pursuit of the French army to Mühlhausen – but there he halted. Austria's attitude in the Norwegian question had never been very welcoming. Prince Metternich was a determined opponent of Carl Johan's design because he believed that Sweden and Norway eventually would become a Russian client state, since Tsar Alexander already had assumed the role of Carl Johan's patron among the major powers. Such a relationship would disturb the balance of power in Europe – which the great Austrian statesman felt himself called upon to restore. He did not favor splitting up Frederik VI's realm, since he wanted Denmark-Norway to form a bulwark against future Russian expansion in the north and the Austrian Empire in the south.

Carl Johan was well acquainted with Metternich's views, and realized it was urgent to get out ahead of an Austrian mediation proposal advantageous to Frederik VI. He also felt that he as commander of the Northern Army had rendered the coalition such great services that the allies now could well permit him to take care of his own interests.

In accordance with his promise to his foreign minister, Carl Johan had taken care that the Swedish troops had not been seriously engaged in the battles where Russian, Prussian, and Austrian blood had flowed in streams. Now he wanted to head *north* with his Swedes and only take with him so many Russian, Prussian, and Hanoverian troops that a fight with Frederik VI could be won in short order. As a pretext for the allies he claimed that it was necessary to secure the coalition's right wing against being attacked in the rear by the Danes and the French corps commanded by Marshal Davout, which still stood in Hamburg.

General Adlercreutz and Count Löwenhielm feared that the allies would make use of this high-handed action as a pretext to escape from their treaty obligations, but Carl Johan is said to have told them: "We have already accommodated them more than the circumstances required. Is not Russia already in possession of Poland, Prussia of Saxony, Great Britain Hanover, and Austria of all it desired,

and all of Germany and Italy liberated? Sweden alone has been put off with promises. I have twice refrained from claiming guaranteed treaty rights, and what have I received in return? Nothing but empty talk. Do you think there will be a lack of pretexts to delay carrying out the signed agreements still longer? No, it is better that we boldly take our own path and rely on ourselves. I am still fully confident that Great Britain will stand by its commitments to us.

Thus your great men acted during the Thirty Years War. Torstensson's victories gave you Jämtland and Gotland and showed Carl X Gustaf the way to conquer Scania, Halland, and Blekinge. Upon the same path that he took, I will now lead you!"

And Carl Johan showed that he was a not unworthy successor to Carl Gustaf. Without waiting for the allied monarchs' assent, he broke up from Mühlhausen in early November. The Prussians under General von Bülow – the victor at Dennewitz and Groszbeeren – did not seem very pleased with the changed route of march. The Prussians naturally would rather cross the Rhine and help their fellow Germans fight Napoleon. They did not at all fancy sacrificing their lives for Swedish interests. Since Carl Johan thought he could manage without the Prussians' assistance, they were allowed to go their separate way at Göttingen. He then continued northward with the rest of the troops, and on the 1st of December the army arrived on the border to Holstein. 16,000 men were left behind to guard against Davout.

Carl Johan had received a written assent to the attack on Denmark from Tsar Alexander, and he therefore could safely cross into Holstein without worrying about the Austrian envoy that Metternich had already sent to Copenhagen to forestall his plan.

Nor did the good King Frederik act to set any hindrances in his way. When the British landed on Zealand in 1807, Frederik remained in Holstein with the Danish army. It was thus to be expected that this military genius left the major part of his army on Zealand – now that it was needed in Holstein.

For 35,000 men with 110 cannon under such a leader as Carl Johan it was child's play – despite brave resistance – to defeat the inferior numbers of a French corps stationed in Holstein to defend Denmark.

Already on the 6th of December a ceasefire was declared, and when the Austrian mediation failed, the Swedish troops entered Schleswig. Frederik VI's resistance then was at an end – even though he still had an army of superior numbers at his disposal – without a battle of any consequence having been fought.

From his safe residence Helsingør on Funen he sent a most humble message of surrender to the victor, and on the 14th of January 1814 the infamous Treaty of Kiel was concluded, the 4th and 5th articles of which stated:

IV. His Majesty the King of Denmark relinquishes, in his own behalf and also on behalf of his successors on the throne of Denmark, irrevocably and for all time, in favor of His Majesty the King of Sweden and his successors on the throne of Sweden, all his rights and claims to the Kingdom of Norway, namely the herewith listed bishoprics and dioceses: Christianssand, Akershus, and Trondhjem, including Nordland and Finnmark up to the border with Russia. These bishoprics, dioceses, and provinces, which comprise the entire Kingdom of Norway, including all inhabitants, towns, harbors, fortresses, villages, and islands along all of this kingdom's coasts and possessions – Greenland, the Faeroe Islands, and Iceland therewith not included – and likewise all privileges, rights, and benefits shall in the future belong to His Majesty the King of Sweden with full property rights and sovereignty and shall constitute a kingdom united with Sweden. In this regard His Majesty the King of Denmark promises and commits, in the most solemn and most binding manner, himself and his successors as well as the entire Kingdom of Denmark, to never make any direct or indirect claim to the Kingdom of Norway, or any of its bishoprics, dioceses, islands, or possessions, whose inhabitants all are by and in virtue of this relinquishment released from the vows of acclamation and fealty they have sworn to Denmark's king and throne.

V. His Majesty the King of Sweden commits himself, in the most solemn and most binding manner, to let inhabitants of the Kingdom of Norway and the lands adherent to same enjoy their laws, privileges and rights, freedoms, and benefits as they are at present.

After the peace was signed, the following message was addressed to the Norwegian people:

"We, Frederik the Sixth, by the Grace of God King of Denmark, etc, etc. makes known that since We under many and difficult concurrent circumstances for Our monarchy have, in order to reconstitute peace in the North, and to spare the Kingdom of Norway the imminent prospect of starvation, by a peace treaty of the 14th of this month relinquished, in our own behalf and that of Our successors to

the throne and Kingdom of Denmark, to His Majesty the King of Sweden and His successors to the throne and Kingdom of Sweden, all Our rights and benefits in the aforementioned Kingdom of Norway, and We have as well by the same peace treaty, as We do by this Our open letter, released all inhabitants of Norway, as a commonalty and each of them individually, from the vows of acclamation and fealty they, as common subjects, or as officials, each in his station, civilian or military, ecclesiastical or secular, may have sworn to Us; whereupon We, due to, and in accordance with, the provisions of the aforementioned treaty's 16th Article invite them all, with order and calm, to go over to the new government, which in the most binding manner has committed itself to let the inhabitants of Norway keep and enjoy their laws, privileges and rights, freedoms, and benefits as they are at present.

Middelfart, 18th of January 1814.

Frederik R.

Niels Rosenkrantz

By an irony of fate this historic document that released the Norwegian people from their allegiance to the royal house of Oldenburg was countersigned by a Norwegian – Denmark-Norway's foreign minister Niels Rosenkrantz had been born in Norway's northernmost fortress Vardøhus.

The message was accompanied by a gripping letter wherein the king retraced the most important events of his reign – as he had understood them – and ended with the following words: "We never can, never will, forget the fidelity and devotion to Us and Our House, which the Norwegian people at all times and in all cases have given such affecting proofs of.

As long as faithfulness among nations is considered a virtue, the Norwegians will be mentioned as those who stood alongside or ahead of all other people in the practice of this virtue."

A handsome and well deserved attest, but the reward for the dog-like fidelity and devotion that the Norwegian people had lavished on its old royal house was certainly of a unique kind.

The dissolution of the unnatural union with Denmark and the dukedoms of Schleswig and Holstein became of inestimable importance for Norway's welfare and prosperity, but that was not thanks to King Frederik. He had wanted that the Norwegian people should with "order and calm" go over to its new "owner" – the Swedish king – just like the livestock on a farm – and if the Norwegians had

followed his exhortation – well, then the Norwegian national identity might well have met with difficult times ahead.

The day after the Treaty of Kiel was signed, Carl Johan wrote a letter to his son Prince Oscar, a draft of which is preserved in our king's family archives:

Mon cher enfant,

La paix vient d'être conclue. La Norvège est réunie à la Suède et forme un Royaume séparé et indépendant. Cet événement est extra ordinaire pour le Nord. Les efforts des plus grands Roi de Suède furent constamment dirigés vers ce but; la fortune trompa leurs espérances. La providence vient de couronner nos entreprises, c'est elle qui m'a protégé et guide. Rendons lui graces et rendons nous dignes, mon cher ami, des bienfaits qu'elle répond sur nous. – – – –

Or translated:

My dear child!

The treaty is signed. Norway is united with Sweden and forms a separate and independent kingdom. This event is of extraordinary significance for the North. The efforts of the greatest Swedish kings have always been directed toward this goal; fate has disappointed their hopes. Fortune has crowned our efforts with success; she has been my protector and guide. Render her our thanks, and let us, my dear beloved, be worthy of the blessings she lavishes over us. – – – –

We thus see that Carl Johan's *private* views had not changed since 1810. His goal still was the same: an outward union between two independent kingdoms to guard against common enemies – but in Sweden many had now changed their views.

Thanks to the crown prince's wise administration and British money, the country had recovered its strength after the loss of Finland and the unfortunate campaign in Norway. Sheltered by Carl Johan's overpowering personality, Swedish chauvinists could again raise their heads, and with the provincials' limited outlook they already dreamed of Norway becoming another Finland, a new playground for the aristocratic office hunters who could inundate the "simple Norwegian farmer society" and fill their empty pockets in well paid sinecures.

Since we know how little knowledge many Swedes even today have of Norwegian history and Norwegian conditions, it is not surprising that such materialistic views of the prospective union could take root in widespread circles

after the Treaty of Kiel. Carl Johan's farsighted view of the union therefore got dangerous enemies among the Swedish governing hierarchy, and he would certainly have had to bow to many of their demands – if the Norwegians with "order and calm" had acceded to the provisions of the treaty. This is clearly shown by many of the *official* messages he sent the Swedish government after the treaty was signed. Among other things, he proposed that two Swedish governors general should at once be appointed in Norway – Count Hans von Essen in southern Norway and Georg Adlersparre in the north. At this time Carl Johan also apparently thought that most of the Norwegian people no longer were against the union with Sweden – now that King Frederik himself had released them from their oath of fealty. However, just in case, Count von Essen was ordered to occupy Kongsvinger, Frederiksstad, and Akershus with 6,000 men!

However, it is not likely that Carl Johan thought he was so close to his objectives as these official instructions might indicate. A clever diplomat usually does not set down his innermost thoughts in "official" messages. For the time being he had to let the Swedish government act as it thought best. The army could not return to Sweden until Napoleon had been forced to make peace – and that could take a while. If the Swedish government could not manage the new situation – all right – so much the better for him. Then the ruling clique and the office seekers would have to come begging to him again. The Swedish people would have another proof of how indispensable their brilliant crown prince was, and when he returned with the army, he would have more freedom to set the conditions for the union *as he had intended them to be all along*.

From his long experience as a French diplomat and soldier, Carl Johan well knew that a melding of two nations would involve almost insurmountable difficulties, and to try to impose Swedish officials on Norway would probably lead to the opposite of his intended goal – not security, but a serious danger for the Scandinavian peninsula.

We may also assume that so astute a statesman as Carl Johan had realized that he and his successors must follow a more or less quiet policy of giving the Norwegians as much opportunity as possible to assert their country's equal standing with Sweden, since if *that* did not succeed, the union crown could easily become a crown of thorns – and it was not to play the role of a martyr in the North that Carl Johan had renounced his French citizenship!

*



A. BLOCH DEL.

P. T. MALLINGS BOGHADELS FORLAG.

COLONEL KREBS WITH HIS CORPS
ON THE MARCH TO MATRAND 5 AUGUST 1814.

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Meanwhile, the Swedish crown prince had been obliged to break up from Holstein and march southward as quickly as possible or risk a rupture with Great Britain, since the British paid not only the Swedish troops, but also the Hanoverian corps that Carl Johan had taken with him for his campaign against Denmark. The British foreign minister, Lord Castlereagh, had wanted to stop the funds already back when the British government first heard that the crown prince had marched northward instead of attacking France, but luckily for Carl Johan the British envoy Sir Edward Thornton was his warm admirer. In a dispatch of November 18th he informed the foreign minister that the campaign north of the Elbe only was a link in the allies' other operations. It was not done for Sweden's special interests – but mainly to regain Hanover for Great Britain. The ambassador's report was read in Parliament – and 3 days later another dispatch arrived, which stated that the crown prince had found it best to attack Denmark in order to force King Frederik to abandon his alliance with Napoleon and join the allies!

It is no wonder that the British government objected to being played for fools. The crown prince had won himself some time, but when his stay in Holstein looked to become lengthy due to the Austrian attempts at mediation, Thornton received a note in which he was ordered to send the Hanoverian corps to Hanover and stop payments to the Swedish army if the crown prince did not immediately withdraw across the Elbe and march to Holland. The note arrived in Kiel a few hours before the treaty was to be signed. Thornton then did Carl Johan a great service – he kept the note in his pocket until King Frederik's envoy had signed his name to the peace treaty.

Without Sir Edward Thornton's help there thus probably would not have been any Treaty of Kiel. A week or 14 days of resistance by the Danes, and Frederik VI might still have worn the Norwegian crown for years to come.

A peace treaty between Great Britain and Denmark also was concluded in Kiel. With such events going on, Thornton of course found it best to await further instructions, and when Carl Johan gave in to the British government's firm demands, the rupture was avoided.

However, the crown prince took his time on the march to the Netherlands – and the 10,000 men that King Frederik was to put under his command according to the British treaty were in even less of a hurry for diverse reasons. King Frederik was apprehensive that Carl Johan, like another Carl Gustaf, might regret that he had not used the occasion to renew the Kalmar Union. Lieutenant General

Kardorff, who took over command of the Danish troops, therefore was strictly admonished to observe the crown prince's movements – and Kardorff was worthy of his king's trust.

A more remarkable sight – wrote a Danish historian – is not offered in the history of this war than this Danish corps, which 50 *miles*¹ behind the main army warily tiptoed along in its tracks in fear that Carl Johan, its commander, suddenly would turn around and attack it, and ready to at once scurry back to Holstein to resist him.

The reason for Carl Johan's slowness was plans – even more high-flying and romantic than Frederik VI had suspected him of. On the 12th of January the crown prince on his arrival in Cologne issued a proclamation to the French people in which he declared that he, as Carl XIII's adoptive son and by the choice of a free people made heir to the throne of the great Swedish kings, could not have any future ambition other than to act for the welfare of the Scandinavian peninsula. However, he wished that he could contribute to his former compatriots' good fortune – at the same time as he fulfilled his sacred responsibilities to his new homeland.

Carl Johan probably also at least partially meant what he here so solemnly expressed, but circumstances had made him into another Janus. One face was turned with gratitude toward the North, but the other looked with sorrow and longing southward to the old wonderful land of his birth. Despite all, the Swedish crown prince had remained a *Frenchman* at heart, though, as was the case with a number of his compatriots of the time, this was readily combined with hateful or envious feelings toward Napoleon.

Despite all political immorality that that fate had led him into, his heart was warm, and Carl Johan became more and more disturbed at the thought of entering upon his homeland's soil leading a hostile army. Ever since the Battle of Leipzig he had wanted the allies to halt at France's old boundaries and proclaim the peace they had solemnly promised the French people. He would then act as mediator at the eventual peace congress, and if the French people should let their Corsican idol fall as a scapegoat to the hate of the allies, Carl Johan hoped to become the beneficiary of the moment and take charge of the situation.

Earlier he had always been seen as the secret leader of the opposition to Napoleon's rule, and he still believed there was a large fraction of the French

¹ An 18th century Danish mile \approx 4.5 English miles, so this probably should read just 5 *miles*.

people who wished to see him as Napoleon's successor on the throne. Carl Johan's candidacy had also several times been endorsed by his powerful protector, Tsar Alexander.

The Swedish crown prince was occupied with such romantic dreams when he arrived at Lüttich [Liège, Belgium] and received the first report *that the Treaty of Kiel had been appealed to the Norwegian High Court* – and the provisions regarding union with Sweden unanimously rejected. This was entirely justified, since all exponents of constitutional law recognized in Europe, with Pufendorff and Grotius in the lead, have agreed that *a king cannot transfer his sovereignty to another prince without the nation's consent*. That King Frederik had broken this acknowledged constitutional principle by signing the Treaty of Kiel was his problem; it no longer concerned the Norwegian people, since they had been released from their oath of fealty and thus had not only the moral right, but also the juridical right recognized in European law to decide their country's fate for themselves.

*

How this view of the Treaty of Kiel won out and how the Norwegian people on land and sea have known how to assert their thousand years old kingdom's independence right up to today – that I will set out in a 2nd part to this work.¹



MEDALLION STRCK IN MEMORY OF NORWAY'S 1000-YEAR JUBILEE.

¹ Alas, the projected 2nd volume never came to be.

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